JOURNALISM AND POLITICS IN INDONESIA

A critical biography of Mochtar Lubis (1922-2004) as editor and author

David T. Hill

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Journalism and Politics in Indonesia

Mochtar Lubis was one of Indonesia's best-known newspaper editors, authors and cultural figures, with a national, regional and international prominence that he retained from the early 1950s until his death in 2004. This book traces the major events in the life of Mochtar Lubis, a prism through which much of Indonesia's postindependence history can be interpreted.

This book is also the story of Indonesia in the second half of the twentieth century, when the people of the archipelago became an independent nation and when print media and the influential figures who controlled and produced newspapers, played a pivotal role in national political, educational and cultural life, defining Indonesia. Editors with strong personalities dominated the industry and sparred with the nation's leadership. Lubis was a vocal critic of the abuse of power and a thorn in the side of the country's first two presidents, becoming synonymous with combative journalism. Under both Sukarno and Suharto, Lubis had his newspaper closed down and was imprisoned.

As the only comprehensive biography of this towering figure, the book provides a unique insight into the history and development of media, literature and the political system in Indonesia.

David T. Hill is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Fellow of the Asia Research Centre on Social, Political and Economic Change at Murdoch University, Western Australia. His publications include *The Press in New Order Indonesia*, and (coauthored with Krishna Sen) *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy* (published by Routledge) and *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*.

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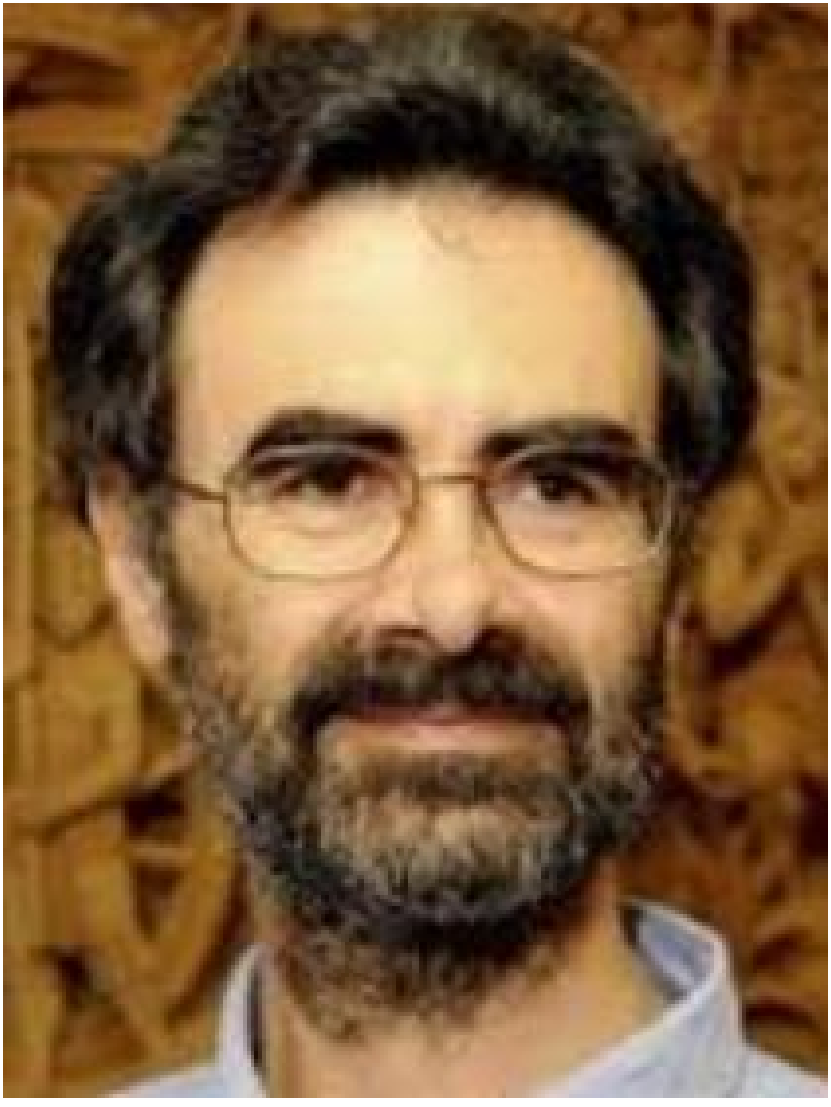

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To the late Mochtar Lubis,
who would, no doubt, still see things differently;

To Atmakusumah Astraatmadja,
who has made much of this story possible;

To Harry Bhaskara,
who has helped me from the beginning.

Three generations of Indonesian journalists.

We can only hope that our society will become more and more open, so that our historians and biographers can write honest histories and biographies from which our nation, and perhaps other nations, can learn where we go wrong and where we go right.

I believe that history and biographies written honestly can and will contribute to a better understanding of our own society's ills and mistakes, and that we may learn valuable lessons for the future of our society.

Mochtar Lubis
Hawai'i
January 1995

The art of biography is a despised art because it is an art of things, of facts, of arranged facts.

A.S. Byatt,
The Biographer's Tale Vintage,
London, 2001, p. 5

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Innumerable people have contributed to the production of this book in its three decades of germination, and to them all I express my appreciation.

I began this project in 1979 as a doctoral student in the Southeast Asia Centre of the Australian National University, Canberra, continued it while teaching in the Department of Indonesian and Malay, Monash University, Melbourne, and completed it finally in 2009 when I was in the Asian Studies Program at Murdoch University, Perth. The writing advanced considerably while I was on a Visiting Senior Research Fellowship at the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore. I acknowledge also the valuable financial support of the Australian Research Council in bringing this project to fruition. My original doctoral supervisors Jamie Mackie and the late Herb Feith provided much of the intellectual foundation of this work, as with my academic growth in general.

The ANU Southeast Asia Centre fostered me as an undergraduate. David Chandler and Pam Sayers accepted me warmly into the Monash Centre of Southeast Asian Studies. As a member of the postgraduate and staff community there, I enjoyed its camaraderie and lively intellectual exchange. My former colleagues in the Monash Department of Indonesian and Malay made teaching a pleasure and the isolating discipline of writing into something of a group project. George Miller at the ANU and Helen Soemardjo of Monash, provided much more help with library research than a researcher can reasonably expect. Despite the vicissitudes of Australian university life over the past decades, I have found a very supportive home at Murdoch University. Colleagues in the Asian Studies Program and the Asia Research Centre (under directors David Goodman, Richard Robison and Garry Rodan) have provided the opportunity, during various periods of sabbatical, for me to return to the project and nudge it along little by little. Substantial rethinking of the biographical endeavour took place at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, under Director Anthony Reid, where I was attached for a year to the Cultural Studies cluster under Chua Beng Huat. It was an honour and privilege to have been able to participate in the intellectual and community life of each of these institutions and I express my thanks to them all.

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Since this book draws on some of my previously published articles, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the editors of the publications in which the following appeared:

'Mochtar Lubis: The Artist as Cultural Broker in New Order Indonesia', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* (*RIMA*), Vol. 21, No. 1, Winter 1987, pp. 54–88.

'Press Challenges, Government Responses: Two Campaigns in *Indonesia Raya*', in Paul Tickell (ed.), *The Indonesian Press: Its Past, its People, its Problems*, Annual Indonesian Lecture Series, No. 12, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1987, pp. 21–38.

'Revolusi dan Kepemimpinan: Gambaran yang Berubah dalam Tiga Novel Mochtar Lubis' in Atmakusumah (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta, 1992, pp. 298–332.

'The Objectification of Mochtar Lubis: Personalizing the Process of Biography', in Angus McIntyre (ed.) *Indonesian Political Biography: In Search of Cross-Cultural Understanding*, Monash University Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Clayton, 1993, pp. 263–89.

' "The Two Leading Institutions": Taman Ismail Marzuki and *Horison*' in Virginia Matheson Hooker (ed.) *Culture and Society in New Order Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1993, pp. 245–62.

‘Interpreting the Indonesian National Character: Mochtar Lubis and *Manusia Indonesia*’ in D.M. Roskies (ed.) *Text/Politics in Island Southeast Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 19, Athens, Ohio, 1993, pp. 288–321.

‘Leadership, social order and democracy: The novels of a “secular modernizing intellectual” ’, *Indonesia Circle*, No. 69, 1996, pp. 102–21.

David T. Hill
Fremantle
2 May 2009

Notes

1 *Referencing:* For clarity, repeat citations of books by Mochtar Lubis will be referred to by *title* (abbreviated if appropriate) and date, rather than the more common format of author and date.
2 *Indonesian names*: Indonesians may be known by single (e.g. Sukarno) or multiple names which may not include a 'surname' or 'family' name (e.g. Brentel Susilo). The initial (or sole) common name has been used for bibliographical purposes since this reflects the common Indonesian practice.
3 *Indonesian spelling*: The Indonesian language has used various spelling systems, with the remnants of former systems still reflected in some personal names. Where individuals appear to have indicated a preference for a particular spelling of their name, this is respected in the text. Readers who are not familiar with these previous orthographic systems, may note that 'oe' is commonly pronounced 'u', and 'j' was formerly pronounced 'y' (e.g. 'Soemitro' may be pronounced 'Sumitro'; 'Sjahrir' is pronounced 'Syahrir'). In quotations, the bibliography and endnotes, however, the spelling used in the source is maintained. Elsewhere, Indonesian terms (such as political organisations or newspaper names) follow the current post-1972 orthography.

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Part I

Early life

1 Introduction

Since Indonesia unilaterally declared Independence in 1945, the nation has experienced an – as yet unresolved – struggle between competing ideologies over the form and content of its political system, over the very idea of what Indonesia will become. Although on occasion marked by horrendous physical violence and military force, it has been most consistently a battle in the realm of ideas. Within this struggle to formulate the foundations of nationhood, the role of public intellectuals, artists, authors and cultural figures has been both highly critical and far more influential than may have been the case in much of the contemporaneous West. Since the 1950s, national politics in Indonesia has often been under the heel of the military, and political parties have been highly fluid, frequently unstable, and commonly dominated by a relatively narrow clutch of functionaries. Yet, cultural figures and public intellectuals, often at arm's length from, or at most on the fringes of, formal party politics and outside the corridors of academe, have articulated both dominant and oppositional ideologies in vibrant and sustained debate down through the decades. This clash of ideas is nowhere more evident than in the media, where such contestations are played out between concepts of nationalism and communalism, secularism and sectarianism, traditionalism and modernity, liberal democracy and authoritarianism.

This book examines the development of a secular modernising tradition within Indonesian journalism and media practice since 1945, through a critical evaluation of the life of one of its most significant and controversial exponents, Mochtar Lubis (1922–2004). This exploration of Mochtar Lubis's life and work – his social context, political base, those interests aligned with, and opposed to, him – tracks the transmission of democratic, secular and modernising values through the media and society during Indonesia's turbulent post-Independence history. Mochtar Lubis was not a party politician, power broker, or ideologue. Nor was he an academic or scholar. Yet, as an articulate cultural broker, award-winning author and internationally renown journalist – a 'man of letters' in the broadest sense – he was one of the most influential spokespeople in the country, sustaining such public prominence for most of his adult life. He was one of only a handful of Indonesians of his generation whose ideas, sustained over decades, contributed to the identity of his nation, the character and practice of its media and the heights of its literature.

As editor of the feisty *Indonesia Raya* daily newspaper, he established his reputation as a symbol of press freedom in Indonesia, as the country's best-known and most opinionated editor, unflinching in his combative style and preparedness to criticise anyone from the president down. For nearly half a century, he was a vocal critic of the abuse of power. During both the presidencies of Sukarno and Suharto, his paper was closed down, and he was detained, under house arrest or in jail, on three separate occasions. This fate of being incarcerated by both governments in power during his active public life he shared with but a tiny handful of political figures. His preparedness to endure long detention for his principles elevated him to hero status amongst younger generations of journalists who regarded him as the embodiment of the crusade for 'freedom of the press'. As author of more than ten novels and short story collections, available in at least six world languages, Mochtar Lubis was Indonesia's most translated *litterateur* for over 15 years. His first major novel, *A Road with no End*, was widely regarded, by both Indonesian and foreign literary critics, as one of the high-points of Indonesian creative fiction of the time, establishing his reputation as one of the nation's great writers of fiction. His indictment of political corruption, the acclaimed *Twilight in Jakarta*, written during detention, was the first Indonesian novel published in English translation.

He was, however, a bundle of contradictions. A passionate, self-confessed 'democrat', his antagonism towards the Left made him a reluctant opponent of Suharto's incarceration of members of the Indonesian Communist Party. A committed nationalist, his outspoken manner and embrace of democratic liberalism was seen by many as more fitting in the West than in Indonesia. Critics interpreted his editorial bravado and public 'grand-standing' as ultimately exacerbating rather than reversing the erosion of press freedoms. Yet, he remained a passionate advocate for a free and democratic media – even while the very definition of what this might mean in the Indonesian context was hotly debated, as much by its supporters as by those who opposed it. During Indonesia's first half century, it was through such debates that the form of the Indonesian state, with its particular political system and institutions (like the media), was envisioned. Thus, Mochtar Lubis contributed significantly to the development of civil society and to the shaping of Indonesia's (still malleable) political system.[1]

The tour de force

When Mochtar Lubis rose to the podium in the prestigious Jakarta Cultural Centre on 6 April 1977, few realised the impact his address would have on the national psyche. Standing over six feet tall, the fifty-five-year-old author, newspaper editor and former political prisoner towered over most of his compatriots literally as well as figuratively. He was ruggedly handsome and exuded a lithe sensuality. His audience was here to listen to one of the country's leading dissidents at the zenith of his career and public influence. It was a little over three years since his outspoken daily newspaper had been banned, and two years to the month after his release from subsequent political detention without trial. His public profile was undiminished, as the large crowd, exceeding capacity, attested. The audience,

which spilled out of the seating across the floor of the Arena Theatre, listened intently for more than two hours before responding with a battery of questions. That it was less than one month before the May 1977 General Elections only enhanced the *frisson* between the dissident critic and his audience.

Despite the rather subdued title – 'The State of Present-day Indonesians, viewed from the Perspective of Culture and Human Values' – the talk provoked a boisterous polemic both in the theatre that night and for weeks in the national press. As a measure of its impact, three decades later, it was still being cited in Indonesian weblogs and Internet sites – and by foreign observers – as the landmark analysis of the national character.[2] Couched in the provocative style that was Mochtar Lubis's trademark, it was the opening fusillade in a debate, not a guarded academic study. When published as an 80-page monograph, it quickly became a best seller, with four reprints within three years.[3] A quarter of a century later, it was still in print.

In his address, Mochtar Lubis relentlessly dissected the traits of the Indonesian national character. He identified rare positive qualities, describing Indonesians as artistic, gentle, peace-loving, quick to learn, dexterous, endowed with a sense of humour and patient to a fault. Nevertheless, such praise was submerged in a barrage of criticism. Pulling no punches, he slammed his fellow Indonesians as hypocritical, feudalistic, superstitious, weak-willed, indecisive and always evading responsibility. They had been made lazy and impecunious by their lush environment. He decried Indonesians' 'intellectual prostitution', and the media's submissiveness. Even rational, highly educated Indonesians, he claimed, often surrendered to mysticism at times of crises. Traditional beliefs in talisman and *mantera* had their modern equivalent in symbolic political slogans, which encouraged people to place faith in the oft-repeated 'new magic formulae and slogans' of the Suharto government rather than any tangible achievements. Mochtar Lubis was scathing of those in power who claimed to be servants of the people, defenders of justice and the rule of law; in practice, they were egotistical, malicious, power-hungry and avaricious. 'As the years go by we allow this elite of ours to enrich itself exponentially by corruption and theft of the rights and property of the people', he argued, stressing Gandhi's dictum, 'Earth provides enough for everyone's need, but not for everyman's greed'.[4]

To maximise the benefits from Indonesia's natural resources, 'we must control science and technology. But we must be careful', he warned his audience, for 'Science is power, and power is never neutral'.[5] While attacking piecemeal approaches to the problems created by 'economic development', he lambasted the West (particularly America) for seeking ever-greater opulence without thought for the developing world. Common goals should be the alleviation of hunger, the provision of adequate clothing, housing, equal educational opportunities and the guarantee that neither life nor death would be too expensive, he urged. This was achievable if wealthy countries adopted a simpler lifestyle and within Indonesia if development shifted to small-scale appropriate technology and agricultural industries, producing food, the most vital commodity for the future. 'The more we are drawn along in the currents of consumerism of the rich countries', he exhorted,

'the more we make ourselves dependent upon their aid, whether in the form of their capital or technology, the more we make our safety dependent upon their weaponry, the more we weaken our ability to protect our individuality as a nation and as people and the more we fall further and further into dependence upon them'. It was an impassioned call for his compatriots to strive for an Indonesia that was democratically based, rationally governed, environmentally responsible, internationally independent and proudly egalitarian.

The lecture, which became known simply as 'The Indonesian Character' [*Manusia Indonesia*] (or by the title of the English translation, 'The Indonesian Dilemma'), was Mochtar Lubis's intellectual *tour de force*, delivered with characteristic brashness and encapsulating his particular analysis of his society and its politics. Even more than in a newspaper editorial or a literary work, in this lecture he distilled for his audience in a single presentation the breadth of his concerns about the direction he saw society heading and the struggle that would be necessary to rectify it.

The polemic

Public lectures in the Jakarta Cultural Centre rarely generated much press coverage. Occasionally reported in the literary or cultural columns of the inner pages, few made the headlines or opinion pages. Yet, Mochtar Lubis's talk triggered a wave of front-page reports, detailed summaries and a polemic that peppered the prestigious 'features' pages and 'letters to the editor' for weeks.[6]

Most respondents praised his frankness, recognising Mochtar[7] for the iconoclast he was. Others sought to correct his assumptions. There were many critics. One aging Javanese aristocrat was offended by Mochtar's criticisms of feudalism, his 'misunderstanding' of *noblesse oblige* and his representation of Javanese culture.[8] Another chided Mochtar for blaming the nation as a whole for the shameful behaviour of those who had exploited their powerful bureaucratic and military positions for financial gain. Mochtar's approach was likened to foreign 'Orientalists' whose depreciatory assessments of local people supported the colonial power. There was no justification, the correspondent argued, in thinking that 'the attributes of the Indonesian character are different from the attributes of people anywhere else in the world'.[9]

Subservient behaviour in the community does not mean Indonesians are characteristically feudalistic, a respected social psychologist argued, for such behaviour arises from the pattern of power relations into which people are pressured, responding to structural causes. He argued that Mochtar had not looked beyond 'those who, in their daily lives, had the opportunity to come directly face to face with influences coming in from outside, in relation to development and modernisation. They live in the large cities and consist of government officials, wealthy businesspeople, intellectuals and others of the elite, as well as their families'. Mochtar had also failed to recognise that the 'vast majority of Indonesians are farmers, and workers who are industrious, persevering, resolute in the face of the challenges of nature, appreciating moral values, upholding religious

values and respecting honesty and courage'.[10] Other respondents recognised that 'the common people could not possibly be corrupt, laze about, not take any responsibility and the like', arguing instead the political system was the root cause of the characteristics Mochtar described.[11]

Mochtar's propensity for overstatement appeared partly intended to provoke debate, but to a degree public responses exposed biases inherent in Mochtar's perceptions of his society. He was a middle-class, urban, cosmopolitan professional, whose experience as an investigative journalist and editor had earned him considerable social capital and prestige, while also laying bare for him the excesses of the Indonesian political elite. A secular humanist, he believed in the power of the individual, striving for a common good, to bring about social change. Despite the strength of the criticisms he directed at his fellow Indonesians, his was a fundamentally positivist and individualist analysis of his nation's challenges. Not known for his subtlety or restraint, Mochtar's composite 'national character' was largely devoid of such variables as class, religion, ethnicity and gender.

Such an analysis – and its unproblematised assumptions about the character of Indonesians – contrasted starkly with more inquiring contemporaneous academic critiques of dominant Western perspectives on Asian societies.[12] While Mochtar was attacking the Indonesian 'straw man' in Jakarta, across the Straits of Malacca Indonesian-born Malaysian scholar Syed Hussein Alatas was critically dismantling the prejudices upon which Europeans had based their colonial 'myth of the lazy native' in Southeast Asia. The following year such ideas would be at the centre of intellectual debate globally with the publication in 1978 of Edward Said's seminal dissection of Orientalism. As is now well known, Said identified key elements in the view of 'the Orient' held by non-'Orientals', which propounded fundamental dogmas: that there is an absolute and systematic difference between the (positive) West and the (negative) Orient; that abstractions about the Orient were preferable to direct evidence; that the Orient was eternal, uniform, incapable of defining itself, and was therefore defined by the 'scientifically objective' West; that the Orient was to be feared and controlled.[13] Said warned that, in large measure, the intelligentsia in 'the modern Orient … participates in its own Orientalizing'.[14]

While the systematic difference in Mochtar's lecture is not between West and 'Orient'/Asia, such categories are assumed. More evident is an implied discontinuity between contrasts such as tradition and modernity, between superstition and rationality (while, as a secularist, Mochtar distinguishes between conventional institutionalised religion and mysticism without conveying any Islamic conviction). The approach is essentially ahistorical and abstract, and critics, such as Simon Philpott (in his study of the perpetuation of the 'lazy native' myth into post-World War Two American social science), continue to regard Mochtar as having reproduced 'the [colonial] characteristics of the "lazy native" in the present'.[15]

When measured against the insights of Alatas or Said, Mochtar Lubis does not emerge as a more capable intellect, but the lecture and its impact illustrates his undoubted strength as one of the great cultural translators of his generation in Indonesia, readily able to assimilate currents of thought abroad – often

complex and highly nuanced – then distil, pare back and communicate them to his Indonesian constituency in a manner which is articulate, accessible, straightforward and often controversial.

Mochtar describes the goal of economic 'modernisation', for example, as a new 'superstition' propounded by Western economists, and argues that Indonesians must be able to define for themselves what is meant by 'developed country', 'rich country', 'poor country' (p.58). Yet, he advocates modernisation as 'a certain mental attitude and rationality' (p.61), implicitly contrasted with traditional superstitions. His overall analysis draws heavily on the modernisation theory of the 1960s, which inherited aspects of the intellectual tradition of Orientalism, positing that traditional societies required a cultural transformation to develop into modern states (modelled on a Western paradigm) in order to become capable of achieving First World levels of economic success. While adopting aspects of radical dependency theory to criticise the directions of Indonesia's growth, Mochtar's lecture retains undercurrents of this modernisation theory, arguing that a cultural transformation of negative (traditional) values and characteristics (such as the feudalistic mentality, superstition, avoidance of responsibility) will result in a more desirable rational (modern) culture.[16] This perspective also locates culture (and largely 'national character') as autonomous of the political system and power relations which govern the community. Such perspectives pervade much of his life's writing and his analysis of his society over the decades.

The context

Despite vocal detractors and fiery polemics, the resilience of Mochtar Lubis's critical characterisation of the Indonesian national character suggests his ideas found fertile ground. From what stock might such ideas have sprung, and what then might have been his constituency? As journalist, writer and political commentator, Mochtar Lubis was strongly associated with those secular intellectuals aligned to the thinking of Indonesia's first prime minister, Sutan Sjahrir.[17] When asked in 1981 to describe his own ideological position, Mochtar responded hesitantly, 'I would like to see democracy practised politically, socially, economically', adding rhetorically after a pause, 'democratic socialism?'[18]

In their insightful exploration of Indonesian political thinking, Feith and Castles regarded the 'democratic socialists' as one of the five major 'streams of political thinking' in Indonesia between 1945 and 1965.[19] The Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), founded by Sutan Sjahrir in February 1948 and banned in August 1960, was always small but was Indonesia's most vocal promoter of democratic, liberal socialism.[20] Its members, generally urban and highly educated in the Western tradition, demonstrated their 'concern for individual freedom, their openness to world intellectual currents and their rejection of obscurantism, chauvinism and the "personality cult" '.[21] Although Mochtar was never a member of the Indonesian Socialist Party – or any other political party for that matter – he frequently acknowledged the influence of Sjahrir and the 'democratic socialist' stream upon him.[22] He was widely regarded as a 'Sjahririan', although he was personally

uncomfortable being described as 'liberal', because this had become 'a dirty word in Indonesia' after Sukarno used it as a virtual synonym for 'free-fight capitalist' and 'imperialist'.[23]

Sjahrir, his colleagues and protégés were articulate and industrious in promoting their ideas and interpretations. Apart from Sjahrir's major (and translated) works produced during his lifetime, his followers, many of whom rose to intellectual and political prominence, kept his reputation alive by publishing (or reprinting) his works and ideas.[24] Sjahrir's followers, who extended well beyond PSI members, had an ongoing influence on the way they were perceived far beyond that determined by their own writings. They provided the *entrée*, the point of personal and intellectual contact, for numerous foreign scholars and journalists seeking to understand Indonesia.[25] Their view of Indonesia and its politics has been privileged in a mainstream tradition of English-language scholarship on Indonesian politics, which generally presents the democratic socialists positively.

George McTurnan Kahin, founder of the dominant liberal tradition of Indonesian political studies in America, was deeply impressed by Sjahrir, judging that '[f]ew Indonesians have done as much thoughtful writing about Indonesia and her problems as … Sutan Sjahrir'.[26] Returning from Indonesian fieldwork in 1949 Kahin collaborated enthusiastically with members of Indonesia's United Nations mission including Soedjatmoko, later 'widely regarded as the most outstanding of the young intellectuals of Sjahrir's Indonesian Socialist Party', to promote the Indonesian Republic's cause in America.[27] Foreigners and Indonesians recognised Kahin's 'principal identification … with Sjahrir' and his group both in the perspective of his study of the Revolution and in his personal relations.[28] Kahin's view that Sjahrir and his group were 'as progressive as they were practical and moderate' and that they embodied the greatest potential for socioeconomic change, was shared by many of his students, including Australians John Legge and Herbert Feith.[29] The secular, democratic socialist intellectuals provided such Western academics with a sense of companionship, guidance and community.[30]

Widespread questioning of liberalism (and especially 'Cold War liberalism') at the time of the Vietnam War changed perceptions of the Sjahrir group. A student of Kahin, Benedict Anderson, then pointed out the limitations of the Kahinian approach: '[The] liberal-democratic concerns of the Kahinians led to a pronounced focus on constitutional politics and parliamentary institutions. In a narrower sense, it was particularly the Westernized political leaders of Sjahrir's Indonesian Socialist Party and Mohammad Natsir's wing of the Islamic Masyumi party whose ideas and programs were treated with the most sympathy and respect'.[31] The foreigners' identification had been with these sections of the 'postrevolutionary political and intellectual elite'[32] (rather than groups with competing nationalist credentials or those dubbed 'traditional'), a phenomenon Anderson traced to 'the paradigm of American liberal culture [which had] shaped the contours of American research on Indonesia in the most basic sense'.[33]

Taking up Anderson's critique Australian Rex Mortimer, author of the seminal study of the Indonesian Communist Party, challenged liberal scholarship's

'sympathies with Westernised elites of the pragmatic kind [and] its uncomfortable reaction to nationalism, militarism and novel communist strategies of development'.[34] The role of the modernising intellectuals as 'technocrats' within a US-fostered military government was a principal theme of David Ransom's analysis of American educational programs which had prepared the ground for Indonesia's big rightward turn of 1965–66.[35] The aim of funding organisations such as the Ford Foundation, operating in Indonesia throughout the 1950s and 1960s, was the creation of a 'modernizing elite' whom Ransom accused (along with the American 'modernizers') of being 'paid to protect' the resource-potential of Indonesia for foreign investment.[36]

In a 1973 essay, R. William Liddle assessed the achievements of a 'group of power seekers, active in Indonesian politics since 1965, who have attempted to articulate and to act upon an ideology (although they would not call it that) of modernization'.[37] He dubbed his subjects 'secular modernizing intellectuals'. Their characteristics included a commitment to imposing their particular conception of 'modernisation' upon policy makers, 'their articulateness, their command of elite newspapers and their self-proclaimed role as conscience of the regime', and their 'inability to unite organizationally'. However, Liddle saw the primary characteristics of these nonstate actors as the 'intensity of their activities both in ideological formulation and dissemination and … their willingness to act upon their beliefs'. It is this ideology and its intellectual antecedents which primarily occupied Liddle, who argued that though 'their views have dominated public political discussion since 1967 … their influence – in the sense of success in achieving their objectives – has been minimal'.[38] Nonetheless, they comprised a significant component of what Aspinall identifies as the 'alegal opposition' to the New Order, 'bold and outspoken "exemplary individuals", especially artists, intellectuals, student activists, religious leaders and the like' who, as dissidents, were 'frequently disillusioned supporters of or participants in the regime or the coalition that established it'.[39] Despite Liddle's negative assessment of their political influence in the 1970s, the persistence of such secular modernizers contributed to the backbone of the reformist movement which ultimately succeeded in removing President Suharto from power, albeit after three decades.

Despite that achievement, the resurgence of Islam as a powerful political force after Suharto's fall in 1998 may be interpreted as a demonstration of the failure of secular modernism to take root beyond a core of urban intellectuals. Yet, the Indonesian media continues to be dominated nationally by those newspapers, radio stations and television channels which reflect the values of secular modernism. While their representation within parliament and their consequent political influence upon government may be moderated by a variety of Islamic forces within the community, it is the public intellectual proponents of the secular modernizing stream of Indonesian political thinking that have exercised the greatest influence on the shape of the nation's media. Liddle noted that one way these secular modernizing intellectuals attempted to influence national politics was as prominent and outspoken individuals, who declared themselves nonpartisan

and beyond the ideology of party politics. It is such a career that this book seeks to examine.

The story

What follows is the life story of one man, a maverick who nonetheless shared much with other journalists, other authors and other cultural brokers, both in Indonesia and elsewhere. It is also the story of Indonesia in the second half of the twentieth century, when the people of the archipelago became an independent nation; when the practice of contemporary journalism took shape; when print media and the influential figures who controlled and produced newspapers, played a pivotal role in national political, educational and cultural life, defining Indonesia. Through their access to both policy-makers and to the public during this particularly malleable phase in the formation of Indonesian identity, they were able to influence national agendas in a way no longer open to their contemporary counterparts in Indonesia. It was an era when print media editors with strong personalities dominated the industry and spoke directly to the nation's leadership, or at least sparred with politicians over their agenda. By the end of the twentieth century, while debates over the national identity still raged, much of what it meant to be Indonesian was becoming consensus, and the profound influence of media editors in fashioning that identity had largely passed. The diffusion and multiplication of media – the rise of radio, TV and the Internet – brought a different political and media style to Indonesia. Even for individual newspapers, the editorial line was no longer identified with a particular person or personality. The editor was far less visible or significant in the 'personality' of the media outlet or the texture of its journalism. A diversity of media – with print vying against radio, television and new media – meant certainly that print editors no longer stood out in the same way they did in the 1950s and 1960s when a handful of national newspapers defined what was 'news'.

By the close of the twentieth century, members of the community, even members of the political community, do not know the names of TV's faceless news editors. It is the newsreader, the anchorperson, or the chat-show 'personality', the 'celebrity', who is recognised publicly. Such individuals are not seen to have a political role in setting the agenda, even of their own television station let alone of national politics.[40] Thus, Mochtar Lubis's life illuminates a historical period when print journalists and editors played an influential role within the politically-active community. It is no coincidence that the values of the most successful editors were secular, humanist and modernist; and that these are the values that continue to dominate the Indonesian media industry.

Mochtar Lubis is also part of a story about public intellectuals, editors and authors across emerging nations of the Third World who responded to the challenges of nationhood and the assertion of national rights against international hegemonies. For those nations breaking away from the colonial past in the immediate postwar years, 'the existence of two superpowers, who both were eager to disassociate themselves from European colonialism, opened up new

possibilities for aid and support'.[41] Of that process of negotiating new nationhood, John Lent has observed that the 'enmeshing of literature and journalism with nationalism at the birth of new nations has been a common phenomenon', epitomised not only by Mochtar Lubis, but also by Jose Rizal in the Philippines, José Julián Martí y Pérez in Cuba, Nguyen Tuong Tam in Vietnam and others.[42] Like Mochtar Lubis in Indonesia, numerous comparable individuals within other emerging nations were struggling to negotiate a space between East and West, between the world's emerging superpowers, many through international organisations in which Mochtar Lubis was also to be involved. Such figures were almost inevitably drawn into an international ideological battle for global influence. At this, the birth of the Third World, these writers and intellectuals were as much its midwives as were their countries' politicians. Whether in the Philippines, or in South America, in India, or in Africa, the Third World journalist as intellectual was asserting a right to be heard domestically and internationally, to be critical of their own governments and of the great world hegemonies. In the great chill of the Cold War, as the United States of America and the USSR vied to dominate the postwar world, it was an era when many were imprisoned and when international collaboration, through networks of global organisations like the International Press Institute, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, or Amnesty International, became lifelines for such activists. While this book recounts the life history of Mochtar Lubis, the challenges he faced, the decisions he made, the consequences he endured, were shared by many across the Third World during the Cold War.

The biography

This book is not an authorised biography of Mochtar Lubis. But, as a prolific 'man of letters', who wrote in a variety of media and genre, Mochtar provided many signposts pointing to his interpretations and these have been drawn upon in the account that follows. He left several diaries: notably, an account of his years of house arrest and imprisonment during the Sukarno period (published as *Catatan Subversif*) and a bilingual Indonesian and English manuscript, *Nirbaya: sebuah buku harian dalam tempat tahanan*, describing his period of his detention in 1975, which had only been published in Dutch translation (as *Kampdagboek)* until the original version was recovered during the course of my research and subsequently published.[43] There are several published accounts too of his various journeys abroad (*Perkenalan ke Asia Tenggara*, *Perang Korea*, *Perlawatan ke Amerika Serikat, Indonesia di mata dunia*) and around Indonesia (*Het Land Onder de Zon: Het Indonesië van nu*).

The files of his daily newspaper, *Indonesia Raya*, provide another – albeit collective rather than individual – legacy upon which a biographer can draw. While the newspaper did not attribute specific authorship for the editorials, they were generally penned by Mochtar Lubis.[44] For more than a quarter of a century, he wrote the editorials (known as 'Cultural Notes') for the monthly literary magazine *Horison* (a wide selection of which appeared as a book, *Budaya, Masyarakat*

dan Manusia Indonesia). Similarly, more than three dozen previously published media interviews with Mochtar Lubis were collected in a book by his close friend Ramadhan K.H., providing a further insight into his views on a range of controversial issues. In addition, there are scores of public lectures, seminar papers and speeches of various kinds, many of which have been published in various forms.

I was given privileged access to Mochtar Lubis. He made himself available for more than a dozen extensive interviews and conversations, and provided personal manuscripts and materials.[45] With such a bounty of material, the account that follows is ultimately the outcome of an incalculable number of choices by the biographer regarding what information warrants inclusion and what does not. Undoubtedly, Mochtar would disagree with aspects of that selection. As Mochtar himself once pointed out to me, the biography I write will say as much about me and my values, as it may about him and his.

The following story falls into four parts: his early life, the Sukarno presidency, the Suharto presidency and his later life. The two central parts each follow his career as a journalist (with separate chapters focussing primarily on his daily newspaper *Indonesia Raya*), author and political activist in each of these presidencies. Chief concerns are the political characteristics of his editorial leadership of *Indonesia Raya* (in two periods 1949–58 and 1968–74) and as an author of politically-engaged literature. The circumstances leading to his detentions from 1956 to 1966 and again in 1975, and the paper's subsequent closures are examined, as are his responses to his arrests. Each section also contains a chapter examining his role as a cultural conduit between Indonesia and the world and his place in the cultural debates of the period in question. The last part discusses the final phase of his life. A closing chapter critically evaluates his life's work, reviewing the qualities he displayed throughout his public career, as a symbol of the secular liberal tradition within Indonesian media. A postscript reflects upon this author's often-turbulent relationship with Mochtar Lubis and the effect this had on the process of writing the biography.

In his advice to biographers writing about 'vulnerable subjects', Thomas Couser stresses the primacy of ethics and integrity in the depiction of another's life. Mochtar Lubis may dispute some of the interpretations that follow, but I have endeavoured to adhere to Couser's counsel. My purpose in writing is neither to glorify nor denigrate Mochtar Lubis, neither to transform a mortal into a saint, nor make a flawed man into a demon. It is an attempt to set the man within his times, the values within his society and the choices within their context.

2 Bureaucrat's son to nationalist intellectual

Mochtar Lubis was born in the *entrepôt* port town of Padang, West Sumatra, on 7 March 1922, the sixth child of Mara Husein Lubis and his wife Siti Madinah Nasution.[1] Mochtar's father, a senior public servant in the Dutch colonial government, came originally from the ancestral village of Muara Soro. While Padang was a bustling port of about 40,000 servicing a coastal and international trade, Muara Soro, in upland Tapanuli, remains a tiny straggling nondescript settlement, about 180 kilometres down the road from Padang Sidempuan to Padang, about two kilometres south of the Kotanopan district market.[2] Both parents were of the Mandailing ethnic group, a people often regarded by outsiders as subsumed within their more populous Batak neighbours, despite Mandailing resentment of this.[3] Largely converted to Islam during the Padri Wars (1821–37) when Muslims from Minangkabau invaded from the south, the Mandailing people nonetheless retained a strong kinship system and customary practices, though many responded to the volatility in their homeland by seeking their fortune elsewhere. From the middle of the nineteenth century, whole villages relocated to the Malay Peninsula, for example, where Mandailingers became prominent in gold and tin mining as well as commercial agriculture.[4] Such financial success beyond their borders contributed to the Mandailing's reputation as independent-minded, spirited and adventurous.

At the time of Mochtar Lubis's birth, Mandailing kinship practices involved strong ties between inter-marrying clans. The two dominant clans of his ancestral region were Nasution and Lubis; Mochtar's mother came from the former and his father from the latter. Both belonged to village elites whose hereditary position had been strengthened by Dutch rule.[5] Siti Madinah was Mara Husein Lubis's second wife, the first, who had borne no offspring, having been divorced at Siti Madinah's insistence. She was the daughter of the chief of a village complex (*kuria*) whose title, Mangaraja Sorik Merapi, referred to the Sorik Merapi mountain which towers over the district. Mochtar's father was a noble, bearing the aristocratic title *Raja Pandapotan* and a member of the judicial assembly or *Namora-Natoras* (The Nobles or Elders), Mandailing's traditional institution of governance, within which his paternal uncle was the ruling raja (*Namora*).[6] However, in 1915, Raja Pandapotan Lubis had been elevated by the Dutch to the position of assistant district chief (*demang*[7]) in Padang, and, as a result, the family lived (and Mochtar

The house built by Mochtar Lubis's father in their village of origin, Muara Soro (Photo: David T. Hill, 1989).

was born) away from the Mandailing territories. For Mochtar, it was merely the beginning of a trajectory that carried him ever further from the embrace of Mandailing traditions, for though regarded as one of Mandailing's most illustrious sons, he was never to live within the ancestral territories or to be contained by its customs or confines.

West Sumatra in the 1920s was a centre of political and social ferment. Mochtar's childhood was a period of fast social change, when communism and radical populism in West Sumatra were antagonistic to the interests of the Dutch – and those 'native' administrators who served them. In March 1923, a section of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was established in Padang, and in just over 18 months, the membership of the party's People's Associations had grown to 660, drawn from the ranks of disgruntled former government personnel and small tradespeople.[8] The Dutch administration in West Sumatra became increasingly concerned about what it regarded as the 'provocatively presumptuous, insolent and defiant attitude many communists adopted towards headmen, native authorities and European government officials'.[9] For such figures, it was alarming that the PKI was gaining strength across the colony, becoming the strongest communist party in Asia by the middle 1920s.[10] Government scrutiny and restrictions on its activities increased.

In a December 1925 conference, the central PKI leadership decided that a revolt planned for mid-1926 was to begin at Padang,[11] but plans for coordinated

rebellions went astray and on 1 January 1927, the PKI group in Silungkang, a PKI stronghold in West Sumatra, decided to act independently, despite the quashing of rebellions the previous November in Batavia and West Java. The West Sumatran movement gained support from amongst peasants and levels of the society with some schooling, but the ill-planned revolt was put down within a fortnight with only one European killed.[12]

As appreciated by contemporaneous analysts like the Dutch sociologist Schrieke, the ground upon which communist thought fell in West Sumatra during the 1920s was rendered fertile by dislocation accompanying rapid social transition. Traditional values were under threat as the Dutch deepened their penetration into the society, with collaborators such as the *demang*s spearheading such influence. Schrieke observed various indications of transition. The young people who had had the opportunity of some schooling were disillusioned when 'ideas acquired outside and fed by newspaper reading could not be fitted into the framework of the traditional social system'.[13] They were still obliged to defer to traditional figures of authority whom they saw as ill informed about the challenges of the 'modern' world.

The extension of commercial crops, such as coffee and rubber (rather than subsistence crops like rice), and the consequent penetration of a money economy, was breaking down traditional forms of ownership and prohibitions against the individual division and sale of traditional family land holdings.[14] Common family holdings had provided social and economic security for all members, but the money economy was stimulating a growing financial individualism. Traditional obligations were weakening and being replaced by obligations to the state, in the form of taxes and passivity.[15] There was strong resentment at having to pay taxes to a Dutch colonial government. As the people saw it, 'the government with its corps of high-salaried civil servants was wealthy. And yet it still demanded taxes'.[16]

Family life

As a senior civil servant, Raja Pandapotan Lubis was able to provide a comfortable life for his family of five sons and five daughters: Nurhaliyah, Nurleila, Amzar, Bachtar, Nuryani, Mochtar himself, Achmad, Rosniah, Asniah and Firman.[17] In 1929, he was promoted to *demang* of Kerinci, in a remote part of West Sumatra, and the family moved to the small town of Sungai Penuh. Even sixty years later, Sungai Penuh remained off the beaten track, hours by motor vehicle from the nearest town, and surrounded by dense forest and rugged mountains, from which (locals claimed) tigers still emerged from time to time. In the 1920s, Raja Pandapotan Lubis enjoyed the privilege and prestige of both administrator and aristocrat. As a *demang*, he was 'truly a member of the Dutch administrative circle and participated in the Dutch-Indies society'[18] but was also 'essentially the instrument of the overruling will of the [Colonial] administration'.[19]

A graphic illustration of the *demang*'s unsavoury role as an unwilling agent of Dutch authority is reflected in one emotional episode in Mochtar Lubis's

childhood, which had a profound impact upon him. As a child of about seven, he witnessed his father supervising the meting out of corporal punishment to some indentured labourers who had been caught after running away.[20] The three labourers had escaped after stabbing a Dutch overseer who had interfered frequently with their wives. The indenture system legislated by the 1880 Coolie Ordinance, under which labourers were brought to Sumatra from other islands (usually Java), permitted penal sanctions from imprisonment to corporal punishment. Any unwillingness to work could be regarded as a breach of contract.[21] The young Mochtar, forbidden from going outside the house on the day the three escapees were to be punished, climbed a tree in the back yard overlooking the jail and watched the lashing. As he later recalled, 'that cruel treatment left its mark upon me and caused a trauma'.[22] He attributed to it the genesis of his concern for human rights. It became the theme of his autobiographical – and most famous – short story 'Kuli Kontrak' [Contract Coolies][23] and a trope to which he returned again and again in accounts of his life.

At Sungai Penuh, after a year at a village People's School [*Sekolah Rakyat*], Mochtar Lubis was enrolled in a newly-opened Dutch-Native School [*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*, HIS].[24] The small Dutch population in this isolated area consisted mainly of the families of the assistant resident, the *controleur* (a European civil servant) and some of the staff of the large commercial estates. But they preferred to despatch their children to Java or Padang to school rather than to the local Dutch-Native School.[25] The HIS was coeducational and Dutch was the medium of instruction. Classes were formal, stressing rote-learning and reciting of facts, but the tentative beginnings of Mochtar's literary future were laid at the HIS, where he started composing stories, submitted to the children's page of the Medan newspaper, *Sinar Deli* [Deli Ray] to which his father subscribed.[26] An elder brother later recalled the young Mochtar as rather frail and taciturn, preferring the solitude of his books to the rough and tumble of childish games.[27] That Mochtar Lubis had the opportunity for a HIS education set him apart from most of the local children who were either unschooled or attended village schools.

Evidently, the seven-year-old boy was unimpressed by the parochial atmosphere in Kerinci in the 1920s and 1930s which he described (in a short story written as an adult), as being 'still in the middle ages'.[28] Yet the Kerinci administrative subdivision could boast of a hundred motor cars (one owned by Mochtar Lubis's father[29]) and traffic of 1100 motor vehicles a year along its access road. With 700 people, or one per cent of the total population, heading off to Mecca during the 1926–27 pilgrimage season, it appears to have supported a moderately wealthy class.[30] However, as the effects of the Great Depression hit the Netherlands East Indies, the colonial government laid off employees and reduced wages which, together with the decline in the export of raw materials, triggered a spiralling economic decline. The effect on the Minangkabau area was drastic. 'There were no buyers for primary products or jungle produce. Even when there were, the prices which were paid were less than the expenses involved in finding, collecting and transporting the goods. Trade stagnated. The people lost their source of livelihood. Poverty and suffering were rampant'.[31]

Yet, despite the economic, political and social tensions of West Sumatran society during the 1920s and 1930s, life seemed comfortable for Mochtar. His father's status meant that the family belonged to a class of 'officials, native chiefs, [and] teachers of religion' which comprised less than two per cent of the Native population, and was regarded as occupying the pinnacle of society.[32] Mochtar's father bought him the best toys available, including some imported from Germany.[33] As he later recalled:

> From the time I was small I was never short of money. My life never lacked anything … Just imagine it. My parents had money in abundance … If I went to the market and wanted to eat some peanuts, then I would just take some. You can bet the people were not happy, but they were not game to forbid me. In fact, if they knew that I was the son of the Demang, I would be offered more. If I wanted to watch [the movies], absolutely no-one would ask for my ticket.[34]

Mochtar was deeply impressed by his father's disciplined and highly principled attitude to his work. The boy often travelled with his father on tours of the district surveying construction and other activities.[35] In addition to playing a role in enforcing colonial justice as it extended its grip into the Kerinci region in the 1920s, Raja Pandapotan Lubis had to turn his hand to many civic skills, designing bridges, market places, irrigation systems, roads and supervising the development of the area.[36] He educated the children by example, explaining the importance of such things as the balance between nature and the needs of the inhabitants of the district.

While Raja Pandapotan Lubis imbued a strong work ethic in his children, he also firmly stressed the principle that they should never work for the colonial government. He advised his children to be independent of the government. It was enough, the parent said, that he should have to work for the government to feed the family without any of his children having to follow suit.[37] When telling this story decades later, Mochtar added with a smile that perhaps his father could not have imagined then that Indonesia would one day expel the Dutch and form a government of its own. With the exception of a brief period during the Indonesian Revolution (1945–49) and immediate postrevolutionary years when some of the sons joined the Indonesian military forces, all the siblings followed their father's advice. None took permanent government positions.

Raja Pandapotan Lubis had a strong impact upon Mochtar, who recalled his father as a harsh man, for whom he then had no great fondness.[38] In dealing with his children, the father 'was very strict and adhered very strictly to the adage: if you love them, beat them', Mochtar recounted.[39] In common with many members of the postindependence elite, Mochtar appears to have regarded his father with mixed feelings of 'respect, deference and, occasionally, fear',[40] in contrast to his relaxed and very loving relationship to his mother.

Mochtar retained fond memories of Siti Madinah. 'She was a lovely woman and a most wonderful Mother', he later wrote. It was to her that he fled 'for protection

and comfort when Father was angry with us, or when we were frightened or sad'.[41] She was a deeply religious Muslim, observing the five daily prayers and the Ramadan fast (and later fulfilling the pilgrimage), in contrast to her husband's rather lax religious adherence. The children were trained in prayer and Qur'anic recitation, but tended to adopt their father's casual attitude to religion. Although his father died as a result of asthma in 1953, having pleased the colonial government so much, 'he got three silver medals and one gold medal from the Dutch queen',[42] Mochtar's mother lived well into her nineties, passing away in Medan on 22 May 1986. She had spent long periods in Jakarta during Mochtar's detention, returning periodically to family in Medan. For much of her later life, she had lived with Mochtar's youngest sister, Asniah, in the Lubis's ancestral village of Muara Soro. Mochtar Lubis, however, having been born and raised while his father was being moved around by the colonial government, never lived in, and only very rarely even visited, the ancestral home.[43]

Schooling at Kayutanam

Raja Pandapotan Lubis valued education highly but resisted sending his sons to Dutch government schools, which primarily trained civil servants, instead sending the eldest son, Amzar, to a College of Commerce in Singapore, and the second son, Bachtar, to an American Methodist Mission school in Medan.[44] At the end of Mochtar's primary schooling, the boy was keen to study medicine and become a doctor but, in 1935, after his father showed him a prospectus, he enrolled in an Economic High School [*Sekolah Ekonomi*] recently established by the educationalist S.M. Latif (1888–1978) at Kayutanam on the main road that runs from the port of Padang to the highland centre of Bukittinggi.[45] At that time Kayutanam had established an enviable reputation as an important educational centre, being also the site of the innovative INS (Indonesian National School, *Indonesische Nationale School*) founded in 1926 by Mohammad Syafei (1897–1969).[46] During the early 1930s, there was an increasing call by nationalist intellectuals for the provision of a 'national education', as an alternative to the Dutch system. Schools like those of S.M. Latif and Mohammad Syafei attempted to imbue a modern Western-style education with a nationalist orientation, providing practical skills to enable graduates to be independent of the government and of use to society.[47]

Initially, Mochtar Lubis did not like the Economic High School, because all the students had to do an hour's compulsory early morning hoeing in the fields from 6 AM. In his socially privileged position, he had been previously spared such physical labour.[48] But he soon settled into the spirit of the school and delighted in its stress on practical education; he particularly enjoyed the long instructive walks students were taken on into the forests to develop their love of nature, an experience upon which he drew heavily in several of his later literary works.[49] The more conventional academic studies developed a linguistic aptitude in English and Dutch and encouraged wide reading of economic, political and literary works in these languages.

Sutan Mahmud Latif, a graduate of the Colonial Secondary Agricultural School [*Middelbare Koloniale Landbouwschool*] at Deventer,[50] had a profound influence upon the young Mochtar Lubis, particularly encouraging the boy scholastically. As Mochtar later wrote, S.M. Latif 'never grew tired of reminding us that, as human beings, we had to study, study, study, continually, and to facilitate this, during the Dutch colonial period before the Second World War, he built up the largest library on the island of Sumatra, consisting of all kinds of books, both general knowledge and literature, in a range of languages'.[51] Latif showed a singular devotion to inculcating within his students a love of knowledge and a nationalist commitment. In this, he was supported by a pedagogically inventive and nationalist-inspired teaching staff.

At Kayutanam, Mochtar joined the nationalist Young Indonesia [*Indonesia Muda*] youth movement, proudly singing the future national anthem, 'Indonesia Raya' (which he was later to adopt as the name for his daily newspaper), and marching through the small town beneath the Red-and-White nationalist flag.[52] In the Economic High School, he studied a range of subjects from chess (which was compulsory, to inculcate tactical skill and forward planning), mathematics and languages, to economics and politics. He developed a particular interest in politics, reading select passages by, and longer works about, political thinkers and philosophers like Adam Smith and Marx (even dipping into *The Communist Manifesto*). However, his initial attraction to Marxism was quashed by one teacher's frank reaction. He recalled, when he was about 15 years old, mentioning to a teacher that he was attracted to Communism, only to be told that, if the Communists came to power in his district, his father would be the first person killed! The teacher explained that Raja Pandapotan Lubis was a member of the elite, a feudal aristocrat, working for the colonial government and would be the Communists' initial target. It was this realisation, Mochtar later claimed, that first aroused his suspicions of Communism, foreshadowing a life-long opposition to it.[53]

When Mochtar Lubis completed his schooling at Kayutanam in 1939, he emerged as a confirmed nationalist, having been exposed to the ideas of the major intellectual nationalist movements and become familiar with the writings of leaders like Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Sjahrir and Sukarno. Latif and the other schoolteachers had also imbued him with a faith in the power of education to change a society. Although still essentially a small-town boy, whose world of experience had been limited to the coddled elite in isolated provincial towns, through his reading and the instruction of his teachers (several of whom had studied in Holland, another in the Philippines), Mochtar's high school education had exposed him to a wide range of Western knowledge. Neither traditional learning nor religious education played any particular part in his maturation. His education and home environment had led him to believe confidently that he, as one of a small minority of his country-people with a Western-style education, had a role to play in ameliorating the conditions of the downtrodden. The constant honing of intellectual skills and stress on the nationalists' mission for the future combined to create in him the expectation that the intellectuals

and educated elite would play a pivotal role in the movement for Indonesian independence.

After graduating from Kayutanam, Mochtar encountered what appears to be his only deep experience of the imposition of Mandailing traditional expectations upon him: his father was determined that he marry a girl chosen for him back in the family's home village. The frustration Schrieke observed in the young educated West Sumatrans in the 1920s, who felt their 'modern' ideas could not fit into traditional society, may have been one reason Mochtar Lubis never settled in the region of his birth or returned to his family's village on completion of his studies. Displaying a determination and wilfulness that came to be seen by friends and critics alike as a life-long character trait, the youth rebelled against the father's marriage instruction. While visiting Padang, Mochtar saw an advertisement seeking a teacher for a HIS school run by the district head [*demang*] at Teluk Dalam, on Nias Island. And so he began his working life, teaching Dutch and arithmetic on an island off the west coast of Sumatra. It was a brief apprenticeship, for about nine months later he was asked by the local *controleur* to quit the school and the island. Enthused by the example of S.M. Latif, he too had been spreading the nationalist ideas he absorbed at Kayutanam to his own students. For the Dutch *controleur*, Mochtar's behaviour in teaching the children to sing 'Indonesia Raya' under the Red-and-White flag was a flagrant insult to Dutch authority but, since he knew Mochtar's father, he took no other punitive action beyond sacking the young man.

The move to the capital

Out of work and only about 17 years old, Mochtar Lubis decided against returning home to his family. His father remained keen for him to comply with family pressure and Mandailing custom, and marry the young woman chosen for him. But Mochtar preferred instead to move even further away, setting sail from Padang to Batavia (now Jakarta), where his elder brother, Bachtar, who had completed his studies at Medan's American Methodist Mission school, was now working in the information section of the British Consulate-General. Mochtar was welcomed at the capital's bustling Tanjung Priok harbour by an old school-friend from Kayutanam, Djanamar Adjam, and moved straight in with Bachtar in the Sawah Besar area in the north of the city.[54]

Mochtar revelled in the life of the big city, which quickly came to delight him. He threw himself into the intellectual challenges of the capital, stimulated by the discussions and debates with other educated nationalists about the myriad political and social problems facing the nation.[55] In Batavia, the world he had only glimpsed through his library books and teachers' stories opened up before him with a speed and immediacy that gripped the major cities of the world during the years leading up to the Second World War and through the national independence struggles that followed. Mochtar was not overawed or intimidated by the intellectual vibrancy of the city. The transition from provincial nobility to modern urbanite was a smooth one for the young man. Like many other Sumatrans, who were over-represented

among the political figures of the early nationalist movement, he had embraced (what Reid has termed) a 'Western dialectical manner of thought' and adopted it as his own, without suffering unduly from the cultural contradictions inherent in such a grafting of values.[56]

A fellow Sumatran, long active in leftist cultural and political affairs in the capital, observed (in 1982) that Mochtar Lubis was

> one of the prototype Sumatran aristocrats [*priyayi*][57] who it can be said virtually do not have any *feudal cultural or ethnic cultural 'baggage'* to prevent the development of their personalities in absorbing and adopting modern science and culture, especially that coming from the West. M[ochtar] L[ubis], in common with other Sumatran *priyayi* like Sutan Sjahrir, Hatta, Agus Salim and others,[58] has all the attributes for working hard rationally for his own advancement and identity. As a petty bourgeois, he accepts bourgeois liberal-democratic Western science and culture.[59]

Growing up in an environment when traditions were under siege from encroaching Western values and modes of behaviour, Mochtar embraced individualism, secular rationality and an ethic of hard work for individual advancement. His education in Western knowledge and political thought built on these values and provided fertile ground in which his attitudes towards democracy, nationalism and economic progress grew.

His training at the Economic High School proved a valuable asset as he sought employment in the capital. After several months working as an accountant in a pharmacy,[60] he moved to better-paid work as a clerk in the Dutch-owned *N.V. Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij* (N.H.M.) bank (whose imposing classic *art deco* edifice, complete with grand stained-glass windows, still stands across from Jakarta's central Kota railway station).[61] Apart from the colony's central bank known as *De Javasche Bank*, the N.H.M., dubbed simply 'De Factorij Bank', was the largest private Dutch bank in the Indies. Founded in the Netherlands in 1824, by 1940 the bulk of its international operations were in the Indies. There, its main concern was commercial banking, although it had its own trade and estate interests.[62] Employed in the export department, Mochtar learned at first hand about international finance and capital flows. What struck him most profoundly was how thoroughly the Dutch were syphoning off the wealth of his country. 'I knew exactly', he later recounted, 'Every day, I could see it in the figures'.[63] Observing mounting Dutch profits from Indonesian commodities, such as sugar and rubber, made him even more aware of the need for independence so Indonesia's wealth could support its people rather than fund the colonial power.[64]

His nationalist spirit, suffused with a confident, often assertive, personal manner, brought him into conflict at work with Dutch bank officers, whom he felt discriminated against him. After a privileged upbringing in an environment where indigenous nobility and appointment to administrative office accounted for something and where Dutch presence was thin, in the capital he was, at times, incensed with the treatment that 'Natives' received from their colonial overlords.[65]

Outside the office environment, his jaunty style and refusal to defer, led him occasionally into fistfights with Dutch youths on the streets. Yet some personal relationships with Dutch colleagues were warm and friendly. He enjoyed a particularly light-hearted friendship with one young Dutch girl in his office whom he delighted in teasing about how her country-people were stealing the wealth of his country.[66]

Nevertheless, it was not simply events in his immediate surroundings which drew the youth's attention. He was developing a heightened sense of his country's place in a larger, shifting world order, within which new threats were emerging. The nationalist friends he acquired in Batavia followed events in Europe closely and interpreted them in the light of growing hostility to Nazism.[67] Mochtar was also becoming apprehensive about the emergent power of Japan. Mixing with Dutch colleagues at the bank, he could sense their anxiety about burgeoning Japanese commercial interests in the Netherlands East Indies, as they tracked strengthening Japanese demand for raw materials from Asia and particularly Netherlands East Indies' oil.

The Japanese occupation

When the Japanese finally marched into Batavia on 5 March 1942, Mochtar Lubis was puzzled. There was an atmosphere of exuberance and liberation, yet one image stuck firmly in his mind: a young girl watching the Japanese troops parading by turned to her mother to say she thought the Japanese flag was ugly. Her mother's terrified response as she hushed the girl up epitomised for Mochtar the fear and apprehension that tinged any joy of 'liberation'.[68] Widespread theft of private property and goods and the mistreatment of locals by the advancing Japanese army quickly reinforced Mochtar's initial concerns that the liberation trumpeted by the Japanese would be hollow.[69]

After the closure of the Factorij Bank by the Japanese, Mochtar applied for work in the foreign-language radio monitoring service of the Japanese Military High Command [*Gunseikenbu*] and passed the necessary English language test with ease. The service was located at Biliton Road (behind the current location of the Nikko Hotel), just off central Jakarta's main Thamrin boulevard. There his task was to listen to Allied English language broadcasts and write news summaries, also in English, for the Japanese.[70] Amongst his colleagues was Charles Tambu, a Sri Lankan journalist who had been captured in Singapore and brought to Batavia to work in the monitoring service. (Tambu, who was soon drawn into Sjahrir's circle, was to join with Mochtar in 1952 to establish Indonesia's first English language daily paper, *The Times of Indonesia.*) During the occupation, Indonesians with English-language skills were in high demand. Both the Lubis brothers were soon working for the Japanese. Mochtar's brother, Bachtar, whom he admired greatly, was asked by the Japanese to move from his former job at the British Consulate-General to the Japanese Military Radio [*Hoosoo Kyoku*].[71] In preparation, along with various other Indonesians, Bachtar underwent a three-month training and indoctrination course [*Sendenjooin Joseisho*] in journalism at

Minangkabau Road, Manggarai, which he passed with merit. He was subsequently the only Indonesian to rise to the position of Chief News Editor in the Japanese Military Radio in Jakarta.[72] Ironically perhaps, despite this early achievement, it was younger brother Mochtar who was to become one of Indonesia's most famous editors while Bachtar left journalism for the military and, later, business.

Ironically, in the radio monitoring section Mochtar was once more working side by side with Dutch people, this time those pressed into service of the Japanese. The Dutch workers were detained in the Biliton Road camp. Despite the many deprivations of the Japanese occupation, Mochtar retained fond memories of close personal relations with several of these foreign colleagues, most influentially his firm friendship with Dr Leo F. Jansen, a Dutch lawyer and former acting secretary to the colonial government's quasi-cabinet, the prestigious Council of the Indies [*Raad van Indie*]. Jansen was a cultured and urbane man with an interest in Japanese language and culture. A graduate of the Batavia Law School, he had studied also in Leiden under the expert in Indies law, C. van Vollenhoven, as well as the scholar of Islamic affairs, Snouck Hurgronje.[73] Soon after the Japanese arrived, he was badly beaten and tortured for refusing to make a propaganda speech in support of the occupation forces for international broadcast. He subsequently collaborated as an editor with the monitoring service. Knowing that he would not be permitted to keep his extensive personal library in the camp, Jansen had left it with an Ambonese family outside. Mochtar, who was provided with a house in the detention compound but was free to come and go, willingly acted as courier, keeping his senior colleague supplied with books. In return, he was allowed free access to the collection and, as had been the case with S.M. Latif's library at Kayutanam, Mochtar used the opportunity to read voraciously.

Jansen became something of a mentor to Mochtar, as they discussed their common interests in international affairs, history, economics and world (especially Dutch and Japanese) literature. Mochtar admired him greatly and years later spoke of Jansen with warmth and affection. The Dutchman kept a detailed diary of his experiences from May 1942 until March 1945, which was published more than 40 years after his death as *In Deze Halve Gevangenis* [*This Halfway Prison*]. In it, he recorded occasional criticism of his young protégé, whom at one point he chided as overly subservient towards the Japanese for an avowed nationalist wanting independence. Jansen enjoyed a relatively comfortable existence, with better food and living conditions than noncollaborating internees, able to enjoy his evenings writing and reading, in what he likened to his graduate student days. Such privileges ended, however, when he was arrested, accused of sabotage and delivered to the *Kempeitai* who abused him so badly that he died in hospital a fortnight after Japan capitulated. For Mochtar, the relationship with Jansen during the emotionally intense years of the Japanese Occupation had a powerful influence at a very formative stage of his intellectual development.[74] He retained an enduring respect for the Dutchman who had contributed so richly to his intellectual growth.

In addition to his radio monitoring work, Mochtar also assisted in the making of a Japanese propaganda film about Japanese treatment of the Allied prisoners of war in Indonesia. Because of his fluency in Dutch and English, he was instructed to help

the Japanese with scripting dialogue in English and with general preparation for the film which, he later recalled, was sent to Australia via the Red Cross.[75] He later attributed to this experience his deep scepticism about political propaganda and the manipulative power of the visual image. Since he was working for the Japanese himself, Mochtar was not critical of those nationalist leaders who cooperated with the occupiers. However, he felt Sukarno crossed the line of acceptable behaviour when the nationalist leader began actively encouraging Indonesians to become *romusha* [forced labourers] in a program which eventually recruited about a quarter of a million Indonesians to work in other parts of Japan's 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'. In this, Mochtar thought Sukarno had betrayed the people's confidence and duped his followers in sacrificing their freedom to advance the Japanese war effort. He was later to give considerable coverage to this criticism of Sukarno in his daily newspaper.

Mochtar's command of English, as he worked monitoring broadcasts from the ABC, BBC, Voice of America and other foreign transmissions, and his close association with Dutch fellow workers, opened up a world beyond his country's borders. It is not difficult to imagine the young Mochtar – sociable, friendly, direct – mixing easily with Westerners, like Jansen, discussing with them his country's aspirations for independence and drawing from them knowledge of the world outside. On the one hand he was able to develop a global perspective on unfolding international events, yet on the other he could feel the stirrings for independence that were developing in the underground nationalist movement. New institutions or organisations provided opportunities for the nationalists to discuss their country's future. Even something as ostensibly innocuous as the Japanese-approved Commission for Indonesian Language, set up in October 1943 to systematize the language under Takdir Alisjahbana and packed with young admirers of Sjahrir, provided a forum for cultural debates, which Mochtar Lubis occasionally attended with friends from the radio monitoring service, like Charles Tambu.[76]

News of the outside world, however, was a valuable and rare commodity since the general public was forbidden to listen to Allied broadcasts, with heavy penalties.[77] Monitoring foreign broadcasts, Mochtar was in a unique position to learn of the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945, a few days after the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[78] Immediately, he passed the news on to his brother, Bachtar, who had links with the underground and other *pemuda* (young Independence fighters), many of whom were associated with a group coalescing around Sjahrir.[79] After the Declaration of Independence on 17 August, Bachtar also assisted in translating the proclamation text into English and broadcasting it internationally on a Japanese transmitter.[80]

The independence struggle

In generational terms, Mochtar Lubis was part of a group with a central place in what has been called the 'Pyramid of Strength' which stood behind the Indonesian proclamation of independence.[81] The pyramid was divided into five layers based

on age, breadth of experience and level of school education. President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta held the summit with their contemporaries and 'brothers-in-arms' such as Sjahrir, Tan Malaka and Amir Sjarifuddin holding the second layer. They were followed by men and women aged 30–35 who were to become the secretaries-general of government departments and the members of parliament. Layer four contained college and noncollege educated people aged between 20 and 30 years of age who would become divisional heads of government departments, military officers, correspondents, commentators, writers and later cadres in the political parties. It was in this group, along with people such as journalist Rosihan Anwar and the country's second president, Suharto, that Mochtar Lubis was seen to fit. Beyond lay the fifth layer of high school students, aged 15–20 years, fighting in student brigades and other fighting groups.

While the Japanese occupation had brought its privations and restrictions, for Mochtar personally it was a period of growing assertion and self-confidence; and not without its pleasures. He met and began dating a young Sundanese woman, Siti Halimah Kartawijaya, who was working as editorial secretary at the Japanese-sponsored daily newspaper *Asia Raya* (edited by B.M. Diah).[82] Hally (as she was known) was several years younger, having been born on 2 August 1924 in Pegaden Baru, the daughter of Suaeb Kartawijaya.[83] Mochtar and Hally appeared an odd couple: he, tall and lanky; she petite and slight. Drawn particularly to her quietly spoken manner, bright eyes and with their shared interest in the press, he wooed her for two years before they married on 1 July 1945, a month before the end of the Occupation and the declaration of Independence.[84] Setting up house and starting a family at the cusp of such dramatic historical change was to prove challenging.

After the Japanese surrender, Mochtar Lubis joined the Indonesian News Agency, ANTARA.[85] He started as a reporter for an English language bulletin that ANTARA was publishing for the Allied forces that had landed in Indonesia. Salaries were small and paid irregularly, leading the young couple to have to borrow frequently from close friends (such as the generous wife of Achdiat Karta Mihardja, one of the country's emerging authors of note). During this period, Mochtar got to know British army officers and soldiers, and taught the Indonesian language to pilots of the British Royal Air Force in Jakarta in return for munitions and canned food! He felt the English bulletin was an important part of the propaganda war through which 'we gained many friends. I personally received from British and Indian soldiers a lot of guns and bullets, which they contributed to our boys'.[86]

With his admission to ANTARA, he began to read about journalism so as to teach himself the skill.[87] Mochtar applied himself to learning his profession and following political events with a journalist's keenness. When the Republican government moved to Jogjakarta in January 1946, the ANTARA headquarters followed. Mochtar Lubis remained with Asa Bafagih,[88] a senior journalist, to run the Jakarta office. An enthusiastic Mochtar assumed the role of foreign relations editor, establishing contacts for ANTARA abroad, often through Indonesian students marooned overseas by the war.[89] After the establishment of ANTARA's

first international bureau in Singapore in February 1946, the news agency expanded its network with representatives soon located in Amsterdam, London, Cologne, Hong Kong and Tokyo.[90] On 9–10 February 1946, he was one of about 300 journalists who came to Solo to form the Indonesian Journalists' Association [*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia*, PWI], the country's foremost grouping of media workers.[91]

In the following years, Mochtar lived in Jakarta, participating in what has been described as the 'metropolitan superculture' of Indonesia.[92] Although Republicans were operating under constraints, with a strong Dutch presence, and separated from the Republican heartland of Jogjakarta, Jakarta retained a vibrant press, intellectual, artistic and cultural life. The city remained a major point of entry for the flow of ideas and materials into the country.[93] It was the site of a large corps of foreign press and representatives of interested foreign governments, such as Australia, India and America. The nationalist community there tended to view Indonesian Independence in an international perspective, in a future determined by international politics and intellectual currents.[94] It was a period too when much of the foundation of the post-Independence press was being laid by young journalists and editors, adapting the established practices of the Dutch period to the new demands of the independence struggle. The nationalist press which emerged was conceived as *pers perjuangan*, a press of struggle, based not on the principle of a neutral 'fourth estate', but on a deep commitment to a Republican victory; it was partisan, and proud of it!

As a journalist, Mochtar Lubis was often away from his new wife and their first child, Indrawan ('Iwan'), born 17 November 1946. The reporter travelled frequently between Jakarta and Jogjakarta to cover the course of the Dutch-Indonesian negotiations, including those held under United Nations auspices. He was chosen for this task, because he could interview Indonesian, Dutch and English speakers with about equal ease, a skill highly valued and found only in a relatively small band of intellectuals. The social and professional skills Mochtar Lubis displayed in his relationships with Westerners enabled him to play a distinctive set of roles moving between two groups: the committed nationalist forces struggling for complete and recognised independence, and the representatives, both official and unofficial, of the Western countries which were to provide the diplomatic and political pressure that helped tip the scales of the Indonesian-Dutch contest in favour of the Indonesians.[95]

In 1947, having just turned 25, Mochtar Lubis was part of the entourage accompanying Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir to the Inter Asian Relations Conference, held in New Delhi from the 23 March to 2 April.[96] The Indonesian Republic was then effectively surrounded by a Dutch blockade but Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru arranged for a special plane to collect and transport the Indonesian delegation.[97] This was Mochtar's first trip overseas, and he relished it, spending time en route in Malaya and Burma. The experience provided the journalist with a rich opportunity to observe Asia's political leaders, included amongst the nearly 250 delegates from 22 Asian countries who attended. It was a profound international baptism for the novice journalist. The conference, which symbolised the political renaissance of

Asia, was chaired by Sarojini Naidu, a poet and leader of the women's movement and opened by Nehru. As *Time* magazine reported rather grandly, 'For the first time in history, Asians representing half the world's people came together under Asiatic sponsorship'.[98] Members of the Indonesian delegation were deeply impressed by Mahatma Gandhi, who spoke in front of more than 20,000 delegates, observers and visitors on the final day.[99] Mochtar had gained a new sense of being part of a larger global movement for political change, an awareness of a shared purpose and vision, with nationalists and intellectuals from elsewhere in Asia. It was the first of many such travels abroad.

In his day-to-day work as a journalist, Mochtar had many opportunities to meet, and become close to, national political figures, but few attracted him like Sutan Sjahrir, with whom he became personally very close. While Mochtar 'preserved his independence', not participating in Sjahrir's political organisational activity, he moved on the fringes of the group of young admirers who gathered around Sjahrir[100] and embraced many of the attitudes and ideological values of that group. Mochtar Lubis was attracted to Sjahrir's hope for a democratic and egalitarian Indonesia with a strong economy based on industrialisation, tempered by a comprehensive system of social welfare.[101] He readily accepted Sjahrir's view that this could only be achieved once the feudal nature of Indonesian society was broken down and replaced by rational human relations and efficient modes of behaviour and production. On a personal level, Mochtar was particularly drawn to Sjahrir's simplicity of life and sense of humour.[102] Like many young 'democratic socialists' in Sjahrir's circle, Mochtar warmed to the much more experienced statesmen, who was approachable and open, and knew how to relate to young enthusiasts on a fraternal basis. As Mochtar Lubis wrote in 1980, during the first two decades after independence he developed a

> close personal relationship with *Bung* [Brother] Sjahrir, a relationship full of mutual trust between a journalist and a political and national leader, which was based on an intimate human relationship.[103]

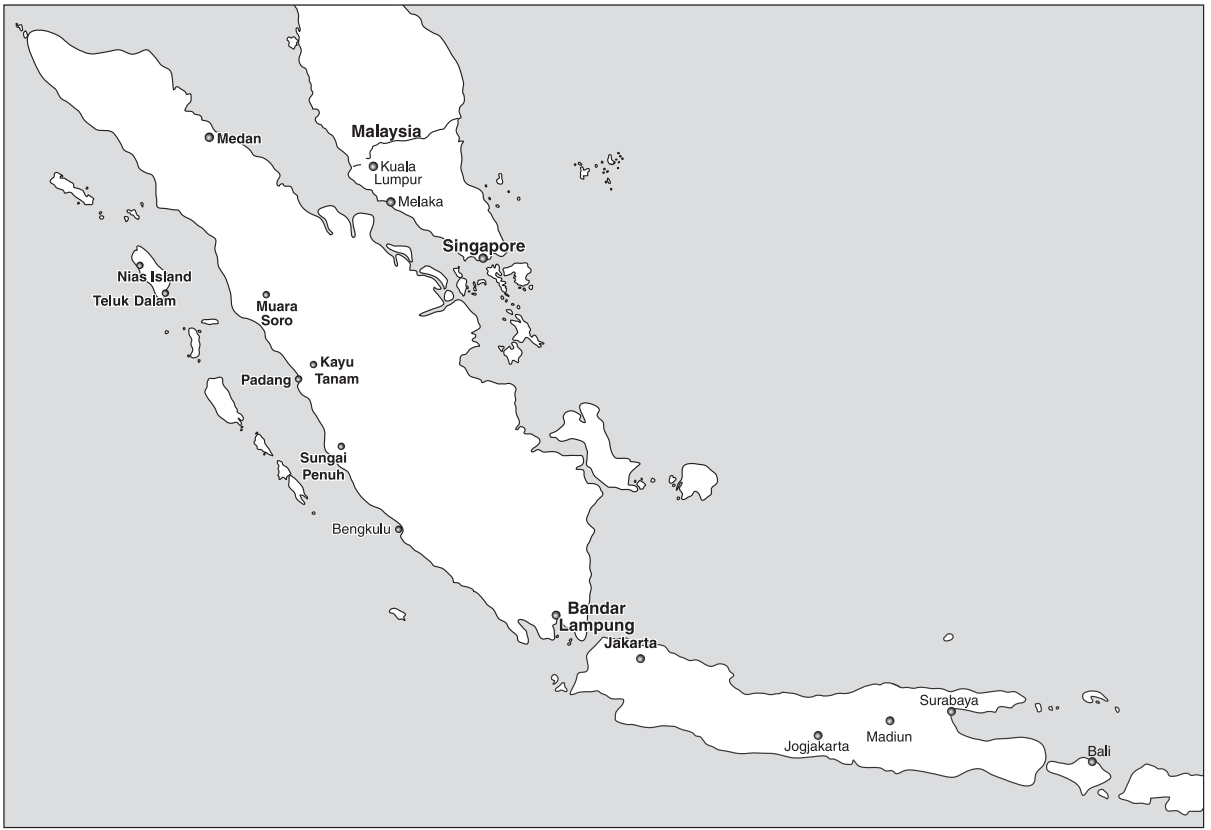
Mochtar regarded Sjahrir's major political treatise, *Our Struggle* [*Perjuangan Kita*], as an astute analysis of the problems facing the Independence movement.[104] Reflecting on this period, he recalled Sjahrir discussing with him Indonesia's foreign policy, and supporting independent nonalignment, cautious of the Russian and American blocs.[105] Having listened to the wartime speeches of Churchill and Roosevelt, and expecting them to oppose the recolonisation of Indonesia, Mochtar was disappointed when the Dutch returned to his country with American-supplied equipment.[106] As he saw it, US and British backing for the Dutch had the negative effect of enhancing the appeal of the Communists within the Republic, thus strengthening their capacity to mobilise and extend their support.

In September 1948, local pro-PKI military groups in Madiun, fearing a general government crackdown on PKI elements in East Java, launched an ill-planned and badly conducted revolt, which was then presented to the PKI leadership as a *fait*

accompli.[107] The officers of the Siliwangi Division interpreted the incident as a traitorous threat to the unity of the state and moved to put down the revolt. Some felt that the Dutch would take propaganda advantage from it by claiming that Indonesia was falling into the hands of the Communists. Mochtar Lubis shared their reaction, fearing further that the USA would not stand by and let the Communists gain control in Indonesia. He believed, if the PKI had wrested leadership from Sukarno and Hatta, in all probability the USA would have intervened more directly to support the Dutch, against Indonesia's independence.[108] Clearly, the Dutch were fanning American apprehensions about the influence of the Soviets in Indonesia, by spreading rumours of Russian provisioning of Indonesian leftists and although 'these rumours and fears held no basis in fact, such speculative stories had a profound impact on all parties involved in the Dutch–Indonesian conflict'.[109]

Mochtar's opposition to the left-wing uprising in Madiun is evident in his editorial comments accompanying an article published in a magazine, *Mutiara*, of which he was the editor in chief. The article consists of a document written in jail by Suripno, a member of the PKI politburo, entitled 'Why We Lost', analysing the Madiun affair.[110] On the basis of 'news', from unspecified 'insiders', which Mochtar heard when in Jogjakarta three months prior to the events in Madiun, Mochtar inserts editorial comments into the Suripno document rejecting the assertions that, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, 'to the best of my knowledge, the PKI never discussed nor accepted plans to engage in resistance against the government by force of arms'.[111] Mochtar discounts Suripno's evidence that the incident was triggered by the Madiun branch without central approval, and argues the PKI leadership was fully responsible morally (a view not shared by some later, and more dispassionate, historians).[112] The final photograph illustrating the document depicts '[m]embers of the Siliwangi Division, the Indonesian National Army's select division, which has done a great service in extinguishing the communist revolt'. This is the first published indication that Mochtar's adolescent flirtation with Marxism had now hardened into an abiding suspicion of the left, which was to endure his entire public life.

Mochtar Lubis had a number of friends in the Siliwangi officer corps. His brother, Bachtar, who had been to a military academy in Jogjakarta and had attained the rank of major, had joined a distant cousin, Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, who was the country's first head of covert military intelligence, then known as the Indonesian National Secrets Board [*Badan Rahasia Negara Indonesia* or *Brani*].[113] According to Zulkifli Lubis's account, he often met Mochtar in passing during the journalist's various visits to the Republican capital of Jogjakarta.[114] After the 1949 transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to the Indonesian Republic, Bachtar moved from intelligence to become spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence (till 1953). A younger brother, Achmad, also reached the rank of major in the Navy.[115] Mochtar had a considerable respect for such officers, but he himself was never a combatant, never firing a shot.[116] At one point, he approached ANTARA head (and Mandailinger), Adam Malik, wanting to resign to join Bachtar in the physical struggle, but he was dissuaded. Indonesia has enough



Part of Indonesia mentioned in the book

soldiers who could carry rifles, Adam Malik told him, but what it needs is soldiers to fight with the pen![117]

As Mochtar recalled years later, on the evening of 18 December 1948, when the Dutch were poised for a midnight attack on Jogjakarta at the beginning of what was referred to as the Second Dutch Military action, Captain Raymond ('Turk') Westerling, a counter-insurgency specialist infamous for his brutal commando tactics, arrested Mochtar Lubis at his home in Bonang Road, central Jakarta.[118] The journalist was taken to the ANTARA offices which the Dutch then closed down. They confiscated the office keys and inventory and held Mochtar Lubis throughout the night. A lieutenant guarding him explained that the Dutch had taken Jogjakarta, Sukarno had stood down and the war would soon be over. Mochtar declared that Sukarno had said he would never surrender and that the Revolution would continue. He was bitterly disappointed and felt sorely betrayed when the following day proved that the President had indeed allowed himself to be captured by the Dutch. His earlier scepticism about Sukarno was reinforced.

Mochtar's detention lasted only 24 hours. During that time, the Dutch tried to persuade him to collaborate, promising to educate him further in the Netherlands, offering him a car and assuring him that Indonesian independence would come in due course anyway, whatever the fate of the Sukarno-Hatta Republic. When Mochtar declined the offer, they assured him it would remain open. His loyalty was rewarded when the tide turned against the Dutch in the first half of 1949. On 30 June 1949, Mochtar was amongst the first group of local and overseas journalists to fly in to witness the triumphant return of the Republican government to Jogjakarta.[119]

For several months, during the temporary closure of ANTARA, Mochtar Lubis and Asa Bafagih worked for B.M. Diah's nationalist newspaper, *Merdeka*. Mochtar had first met Diah during the Japanese period when Diah had worked for the Japanese in radio broadcasting while Mochtar was in military radio monitoring.[120] They got on well, but as soon as ANTARA was able to reopen, Mochtar and Asa Bafagih returned. During such lulls at ANTARA Mochtar wrote a string of satirical short stories about a hapless nationalist hypocrite called *Si Jamal*, and his first novel, *Tidak Ada Esok* [There is no tomorrow] (to which we shall return).[121] Throughout most of his life, when his journalistic activities were thwarted for one reason or another, Mochtar often turned to fictional writing, for both journalism and literary production remained close to his heart. He also developed a strong interest in painting, and in 1948, he was involved in the formation of the Indonesian Artists' Association [*Gabungan Pelukis Indonesia*], along with leading Indonesian painters such as Zaini, Wakidjan and Oesman Effendi.[122]

Aside from his work with ANTARA, he developed editorial skills by working on a number of short-lived magazines published in Jakarta, such as *Masa Indonesia* [Indonesia's Time] (a weekly started in 1947) and *Masa* [Time] (of which he was editor-in-chief in 1948).[123] Later he worked as editor-in-chief of *Mutiara* [Pearl], a fortnightly general magazine, which ran for 16 months from 15 April 1949. He was also a contributor to a magazine, which largely spoke for Sjahrir's Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), titled *Siasat* [Strategy, Tactic], established in

January 1947. Mochtar assisted with its cultural section, *Gelanggang* [Forum, Arena], throughout 1949. *Gelanggang* proved to be one of the most influential cultural journals of the period and spawned a strong liberal humanist tradition, seen by some within as a bulwark against the strengthening socialist realism gaining popularity on the Left. All of this helped to prepare him for the role he was to play from 29 December 1949 in the new daily newspaper *Indonesia Raya*.

Part II

The Sukarno period

3 The 'press of political struggle'

The first *Indonesia Raya*

Two days after the Transfer of Sovereignty on 27 December 1949 when the Dutch formally recognised Indonesian independence, *Indonesia Raya*, the Jakarta daily newspaper with which Mochtar Lubis's name is inseparably associated, began publishing. The paper, with the masthead motto 'From the People, By the People, For the People', was one of the first Republican papers to appear, commencing a year after the PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party) paper *Pedoman*, and about four years after the nationalist *Merdeka*. Mochtar retained his position at ANTARA for the next eight months, but *Indonesia Raya* was already the centre of his working life. Together, the newspaper and its editor contributed substantially to the development of a secular, modernist tradition within Indonesian media practice, a tradition which has dominated Indonesian media from 1945 to the present. While in many ways politically ill fated, *Indonesia Raya* and Mochtar Lubis at its helm remain exemplars of this tradition, to which contemporary journalists look.

This chapter will follow the fate of *Indonesia Raya* until it closed on 2 January 1959, and of Mochtar Lubis till the end of 1965. For Mochtar, this period was marked by frequent critiques of, and combative clashes with, powerful government institutions and individuals, leading to a cycle of arrest and release. He was initially detained on 21 December 1956 and released from house arrest on 29 April 1961, after which he undertook an international trip, which included a commanding address to an International Press Institute conference in Tel Aviv. On his return to Indonesia, he was rearrested on 14 July 1961 and subsequently transferred to a prison in Madiun, East Java, where he remained, along with the most famous of the political prisoners detained during Sukarno's presidency, till the climactic events of October 1965 which ultimately brought down Sukarno and elevated to power Indonesia's second president, General Suharto. Mochtar's fate aligned closely with that political transition in the capital. His transfer to a Jakarta military prison on 25 October 1965 signalled the beginning of a slow political rehabilitation culminating in his release on 17 May 1966.

The establishment of *Indonesia Raya*

The parties involved have conflicting recollections of the founding of *Indonesia Raya*. Nevertheless, what is in dispute is not whether the military provided the catalyst for the paper's birth; that is accepted by all. What is debated is only the degree of military involvement and the extent to which the military influenced editorial policy.

In the very first issue of *Indonesia Raya,* the editors were at pains to stress their 'independence', declaring the journal non-party, independent of political 'groups' [*golongan*] and 'streams' [*aliran*]. 'In this publication are gathered Indonesian journalists of independent stance, journalists who are not tied to party standpoints or those of a particular group … [F]undamentally *Indonesia Raya* stands apart from all political parties or political streams … We will avoid the political biases of unbalanced news reports, which advantage one group and disadvantage another'.[1]

The paper was published officially by the National Publishing Company (NPC), which had been producing the magazine *Mutiara*, of which Mochtar was the managing editor. However, the idea of establishing *Indonesia Raya* came from officers of the Siliwangi Division of the Indonesian army. The Siliwangi Division, which assumed control of the capital on behalf of the Republican government on the Transfer of Sovereignty, saw itself as having the task of interpreting the Revolution to the people living in what had been a Dutch-controlled city. The officers began considering the idea of a newspaper about three months before the Transfer.[2] About two weeks before the handover, they approached Mochtar Lubis to ask whether he would be interested in working on such a paper.[3] Mochtar Lubis's brother, Major Bachtar Lubis, then spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence, was involved in the discussions about setting up the paper. The two brothers were very close, with Bachtar a strong influence on his younger sibling, who held him in high regard.[4] Mochtar's sympathies for the Siliwangi group, his previous journalistic experience and his good relationships with numerous political leaders built up during his time working in Jakarta and travelling to Jogjakarta, made him a suitable choice.

Indonesia Raya was not the first attempt by the military to establish a newspaper to promote its perspectives. In September 1945, the Press and Information section of the military's intelligence branch, known as *Brani*, under Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, had set up *Berita Indonesia* [*Indonesian News*]. The paper was headed by Suardi Tasrif (who became well known in the 1950s as editor of the Muslim-oriented daily *Abadi*, and with whom Mochtar was to have a life-long friendship). Also involved in *Berita Indonesia* were several journalists who were subsequently drawn into *Indonesia Raya*, most notably Hasjim Mahdan, *Indonesia Raya*'s general manager.[5]

The Siliwangi played an important role in the transfer of power from the Dutch to the Indonesian civilian government. The first troops to enter the city, in effect, they divided into two task-forces, with one continuing in its military function while the other joined the city's civil bureaucracy under Daan Jahja, the Military Governor of Jakarta regarded as sympathetic to the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI). Some filled

senior positions. For example, wielding considerable power as an intelligence officer in the Ministry of Defence was Major Brentel Susilo, who had been head of army intelligence in the Republican capital of Jogjakarta where he struck American scholar George Kahin at the time as being 'pompous and paranoid'.[6] Yet, with his impeccable intelligence credentials and his PSI sympathies, Brentel Susilo played a particularly important role in the establishment of *Indonesia Raya*.[7] About three months before *Indonesia Raya* appeared, Brentel Susilo appointed one of his intelligence staffers, journalist Julli Effendi, to head the paper, assisted by Hiswara Darmaputra from *Mutiara*, a magazine from which a lot of *Indonesia Raya* staff came. Mochtar Lubis was active in *Indonesia Raya* from its inception, reporting on the Transfer of Sovereignty, but his name did not appear because he was still formally working with ANTARA until August 1950.[8] By this time, Brentel Susilo had become dissatisfied with Julli Effendi's performance and so replaced him as editor with Mochtar Lubis. Brentel Susilo also placed Hasjim Mahdan, one of his staff and a former spokesperson for the Military Governor Daan Jahja, in charge of the paper's financial administration.[9]

Mystery surrounds the paper's legal ownership. Some years after its establishment, the company name was changed from National Publishing Company to Indonesia Raya Publishers [*PT Badan Penerbit Indonesia Raya*]. In addition to Hasjim Mahdan and Mochtar Lubis, shares were also held by a shadowy individual known as Sarhindi, who was also appointed to this position by Brentel Susilo, but paid little interest. In fact, when asked in the early 1980s about Sarhindi, two highly placed former staff suspected this was a pseudonym for Brentel Susilo himself. Although this was not the case, it suggests the degree to which Sarhindi was seen to represent the interests of Brentel Susilo.[10] The picture we have, then, is of military officers – primarily Major Brentel Susilo – selecting a staff of sympathetic journalists and administrators to run the paper, while the officers behind the scenes retained the capacity to sift out unsuitable staff and move in new contenders.

Atmakusumah, a managing editor of *Indonesia Raya* in the 1970s, has noted that the 'close relationship between *Indonesia Raya* and the army led to this newspaper, for many years, being dubbed an "army paper" '.[11] While listing military officers whom Mochtar Lubis had acknowledged had 'provided at least moral support', Atmakusumah also states that during the early years 'the army gave not only moral support and protection to this newspaper, as it did to other Republican publications. It even provided financial assistance to buy newsprint, [to pay] the cost of printing or employees' wages if required from time to time'.[12] Even essential newsprint – extremely scarce during these years of extended economic privation – was initially obtained only after Brentel Susilo intimidated B.M. Diah, who, in addition to being head of *Merdeka* daily, also had a grip on the supply of newsprint in the capital. According to one informant who was present, when confronted by Brentel Susilo and 'a little bit under the pressure of the gun', Diah agreed to supply enough newsprint for 5,000 copies per day to *Indonesia Raya* barely a day before the fledgling paper hit the streets.[13]

With insufficient guaranteed revenue for wages, newsprint and other necessities, financial help from supporters was vital. The issue of military funding and support

for *Indonesia Raya* was a sensitive one for Mochtar Lubis.[14] In interviews in 1981–82, he argued that there was a confluence of interests between the military officers with whom he was cooperating and the needs of the population at large in the immediate postrevolutionary period. He emphasised that any assistance given by officers was based on personal friendships and not because of any institutional link with the military. Seeing much to admire in the political outlook of the men who were then in control of the army, Mochtar would have appreciated the advantages, both for himself personally and for the nation as a whole, in the establishment of the paper.

Mochtar felt sympathetic to the military's view of the independence struggle. The Siliwangi Division had eliminated the leftist movement in Madiun in 1948, which Mochtar Lubis had regarded as a communist betrayal of the Republic. The Siliwangi also had a large number of the Republic's professionally trained officers and a reputation for high professional standards. Its political orientation was sympathetic to Sjahrir and the PSI. Mochtar was personally close to military Chiefs of Staff, T.B. Simatupang and A.H. Nasution and certain division commanders.[15] As Mochtar Lubis saw it, the 'ideals of the Revolution' were synonymous with the ideals of the military officers who had spearheaded the return of the Republican government to Jakarta. He believed the military had a right to a role in the administration and government of Indonesia, and regarded it as no moral compromise to work hand in hand with them in *Indonesia Raya*.

The following years were a turbulent period for the armed forces, both internally and in their relations with civilian governments. The army leadership 'had been taken over by a small group of "military technocrats" ' which was trying, with the support of cabinets between 1950 and 1952, to reorganise and rationalise the armed forces, then 'still more an alliance of local fighting units than an integrated force'.[16] Like Sjahrir, Vice President Mohammad Hatta was close to Simatupang, Nasution, and the Siliwangi officers, and was convinced the military should adopt a professional rather than a political role.[17] Like Hatta and Sjahrir, such officers could be characterised, in Feith's terms, as 'administrators' rather than 'solidarity makers'.[18] Meanwhile, President Sukarno was drawing support from rival factions. The officers with whom Mochtar Lubis was close were generally those more attracted to the politics of Hatta and Sjahrir, rather than Sukarno. They represented the professionalising group, rather than militia (*laskar*) forces, and were keen to transform the rather rag-tag agglomeration of fighting units into a modern disciplined military.

Thus, the armed forces were riven by internal schisms and under external pressure to transform. Under such strain, key military officers recognised the value in having a sympathetic media, but did not seek to brand *Indonesia Raya* as *officially* the army's paper. Instead, having established the paper and decided on initial staff, the officers permitted the staff to work without encumbrances. To emblazon such an alliance on the paper's banner head (in the manner of the explicitly military organs *Angkatan Bersenjata* or *Berita Yudha* of the 1960s) would have undermined *Indonesia Raya*'s potential influence. The presumed 'independence' of the paper provided much of its moral authority and factual

credibility. Nonetheless, the paper's sympathies were obvious to observers such as Feith who noted that *Indonesia Raya* was 'often called the paper of the army command' and 'had very close connections with the army leadership'.[19] Whether one regards *Indonesia Raya*'s link with the military as 'coincidental and personal' or 'structural and institutional', it is clear that support from military officers kept the paper alive not merely in the form of regular purchases of the paper for distribution to troops (as was the case with a number of papers during the early post-Independence years) but also because intelligence officers were actively seeking outside financial aid for *Indonesia Raya*.[20] Such sporadic assistance appears to have continued until about 1958.[21]

Perhaps because of the convergence of interests and outlooks between Mochtar Lubis and the military backers, no explicit conditions were placed upon the editor by the paper's financiers. Mochtar Lubis's relationship to Brentel Susilo and other officer friends was symbiotic. He needed their financial assistance but insisted on editorial autonomy. They in turn took a gamble that he would share their views on crucial issues. Those close to Mochtar believed that he would not have willingly used the paper to serve the interests of *Indonesia Raya*'s backers should that have contradicted his own judgment. Atmakusumah records that, from time to time, *Indonesia Raya* criticised the military.[22] Intermittent criticisms notwithstanding, it seems that, at least during the first three years, *Indonesia Raya*'s views largely coincided at least with those of the intelligence officers who financed it. As one officer involved pronounced, 'If you write what I want to read, then why should I bother you?'[23]

Press styles and issues

In its first series, *Indonesia Raya*, led by Mochtar Lubis between 1950 and 1958, established a reputation as 'the leading muck-raking paper in Jakarta', with a sensationalist style and an aggressive, investigative editorial policy.[24] Meanwhile, Mochtar also became founding editor-in-chief of the country's first English daily, *The Times of Indonesia*, in May 1952, although work pressure at *Indonesia Raya* led to him relinquishing his post at *The Times* after only 13 months. In the postrevolutionary climate, public and political life was hectic and fast-changing. Publications sprung up reflecting a wide range of political views. Parties multiplied, with more than 28 political parties or organisations contesting the nation's first general elections in 1955. National politics, however, was dominated by four major parties: the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI), the modernist Islamic Masyumi, the more traditional Nahdlatul Ulama (which split from the Masyumi in 1952), and the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), each of which polled more than 16 per cent of votes in 1955.[25] Despite its poor electoral performance (scoring only two per cent of votes), the PSI was an influential minority party within elite politics and the senior civil service. After Vice President Hatta's non-party transitional cabinet till August 1950, there followed a succession of six coalition cabinets in under seven years, three headed by Masyumi and three by PNI prime ministers. Mochtar Lubis

regarded both the frequent changes of cabinet and the multiplicity of parties as indicative of an inherent instability in the party system, in which 'horse-trading' between party leaders rather than the public good determined the policies of government.

Throughout this period, it was not uncommon for journalists to feel that the government of the day favoured newspapers sympathetic to its party or its coalition partners, both with the provision of news and material support. For example, Rosihan Anwar, prominent editor of the PSI paper *Pedoman* [Guide], has been particularly critical of the treatment of the press by the PNI-led cabinets under Ali Sastroamidjojo,[26] which, he claimed, 'ignored newspapers which could be counted among the large [circulation] ones of the time, like *Pedoman*, *Indonesia Raya* and *Abadi*, and gave favour to what were actually small circulation newspapers, like *Merdeka* and others'.[27]

As Rosihan Anwar alluded, *Pedoman*, the Masyumi's *Abadi* [Eternal] edited by Suardi Tasrif, together with the Chinese daily *Keng Po*, described by Feith as 'politically independent (but somewhat Socialist-inclined)',[28] were often regarded as broadly grouped together with *Indonesia Raya*. Rosihan Anwar, Tasrif and Mochtar were good friends, and, despite their occasional disputes and frictions, more often than not, directed their strongest criticisms towards another assorted cluster of papers. These radical-nationalist journals included the PKI's *Harian Rakyat* [People's Daily], the PNI party paper *Suluh Indonesia* [Torch of Indonesia], B.M. Diah's *Merdeka* [Freedom] and the *peranakan* Chinese *Sin Po*.[29] *Indonesia Raya*'s disagreements with *Merdeka*, *Harian Rakyat* and *Suluh Indonesia*, were often evident through polemics and spirited debates in the pages of the papers. Reflecting a wide range of political positions, the market place was nonetheless dominated by secular publications.

While not one of the largest of these papers, *Indonesia Raya* achieved a middle ranking by 1956. In round figures (bearing in mind sales figures are notoriously unreliable being boosted for advertising, and other purposes), *Indonesia Raya*'s circulation, from a base of 5,000 in 1950, dropped to 3,500 by October 1951, climbed to 10,000 by 1954 and exceeded 20,000 from 1955 to 1957. At this time, the largest circulation dailies were *Harian Rakyat* (55,000), *Pedoman* (48,000), *Suluh Indonesia* (40,000) and *Abadi* (34,000) with most papers selling less than 10,000.[30] In 1957, *Indonesia Raya* sales increased to over 40,000, peaking at 47,500 in the second half of 1958, just before Mochtar Lubis's newspaper ceased publication.[31] Nationally, in 1950 there were 92 registered daily newspapers, with a total circulation of 499,500. Sales for the decade to 1959 peaked in 1957, when there were 120 dailies selling 1,049,500 copies, but declined in 1958 to 95 and 961,500 respectively.[32]

If *Indonesia Raya* was established with the backing of the military, how then did it establish its reputation as an 'independent' thorn in the side of successive governments? Five key issues of the time have been selected for special attention as they illustrate both the journalistic style and the political colour of the paper and its editor. Three events were of major national importance, involving tensions within the military and between military and civil authority; two other issues are

less important in themselves, but reveal telling characteristics of *Indonesia Raya*'s journalism.

17 October affair of 1952

One key example of the coalescence of views between the Siliwangi intelligence officers who helped establish *Indonesia Raya* and the paper's editorial staff is the 17 October 1952 incident. This was 'the first major political crisis involving the army'.[33] It pointed to complex internal factionalism within the army and illustrated a range of growing social and political schisms.[34]

The planned reorganisation of the army, known to have Vice President Hatta's support, to reduce numbers and emphasise training and skills above revolutionary ardour, was seen by disadvantaged officers to be privileging 'administrators' such as the central command 'military technocrats', rather than the less educated, former PETA[35] officers, now under threat of decommission. Those officers opposed to Nasution, Simatupang and others behind the rationalisation plan, applied pressure on sympathetic politicians particularly within the PNI, whose Prime Minister Wilopo, was heading the coalition cabinet of the PNI, Masyumi and several minor parties. There was dissatisfaction within the PNI over the alleged advantage Wilopo's policies were giving the Nasution faction, above PNI supporters in the military. With its stress on education and professionalism, the plan was interpreted by critics as intended to strengthen the PSI within the armed forces. The Defence Minister, Sultan Hamengku Buwono, non-party and highly sympathetic to the military reorganisation, faced criticism from a range of political 'solidarity makers', in the PKI, the leftist Murba party, various minor nationalist parties, together with a faction of the PNI.

From September 1952, pressure was brought on the Defence Minister with a series of motions of 'no confidence' over the handling of the army reorganisation. There was dissension within the cabinet, with members of the PSI and Christian parties backing the Sultan against PNI attacks. The resignation of such members would have probably brought down the cabinet. Lobbying was intense on several motions criticising the state of the armed forces and the Defence Ministry. Manai Sophiaan, a PNI leader, sponsored a strongly worded motion for the establishment of a State Commission to examine the leadership of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence. The night before the vote, President Sukarno intervened to lobby PNI factions in support of the motion, which was passed on 16 October, opposed by the Masyumi, PSI and three other parties, but carried by the PNI and most other parties. The challenge to the Sultan undermined the cabinet and the position of the army leadership. The central command interpreted the politicians' actions as unwarranted interference in the army's internal affairs.

On the morning of 17 October 1952, a demonstration took place ransacking the parliament building, some of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then moving on to the Dutch High Commission and finally gathering outside the presidential palace. Tanks, cannon and armoured weapons were stationed in front of the palace, some trained upon the building in a show of strength.[36] While the demonstration was

taking place, a large group of senior military officers including Army Chief of Staff Colonel Nasution approached President Sukarno arguing that the country was unstable because of the 'unrepresentative' nature of the parliament. At this stage, the country had not yet held a general election and the parliament was a composite body, many of whose members had been elected to assemblies of the Dutch-sponsored federal states in the 1946–1949 period. The officers presented a written statement to the President urging him to dissolve the current parliament and form a new one as soon as possible. The President stood firm, refusing to submit to the officers' requests claiming, as he had when speaking before the demonstrators in front of the palace, that to dissolve parliament would be tantamount to becoming a dictator. By standing firm, he defused the officers' move against parliament and forced them to back down in an 'extraordinary demonstration of the President's authority'.[37]

Indonesia Raya had supported the Nasution faction prior to 17 October. Fearing chaos may result from the political instability, the paper had expressed concern about the undisciplined nature of the parliament, its factionalism and the inability of the cabinet to take decisive action on the army reorganisation. As tensions mounted, on 16 October, *Indonesia Raya*'s editorial bemoaned the inability of successive cabinets to work efficiently and solve the nation's problems rationally. Pre-empting the Nasution group's demands on Sukarno, *Indonesia Raya* wrote: 'As long as we have a parliament like this, with people acting in their own interest, and for their own self-ambition, this country will not be governable by any cabinet … The methods of this parliament will bring us all into a chasm of collapse and chaos … We regard the disbanding of this current parliament and the immediate holding of general elections, as the only way of helping this country of ours'.[38]

Indonesia Raya featured the demonstration on the front page of its 17 October 1952 edition. The article, 'People's Demonstration Demands the Dissolution of Parliament', described the movement of the crowd through the city but made very little mention of the involvement of the military officers in the move against parliament.[39] The paper's coverage presented the event as a large public demonstration instead of a transparently orchestrated action executed by military officers to bring increased pressure upon Sukarno.[40] *Indonesia Raya* noted that the placards which the demonstrators held aloft were strangely neat and ordered, without implying that the demonstrators were organised by the military. By depicting the event as a broadly-based public response to critical political tensions and downplaying the crucial role of the senior military officers involved, *Indonesia Raya*'s coverage propagated a view of the events which the military officers wanted disseminated. *Indonesia Raya* legitimised the military initiatives by depicting them as being in the public interest and a result of widespread public pressure.

Mochtar Lubis later recalled: '*Indonesia Raya* supported the colonels, because the liberal party system was making it impossible for Indonesia to move ahead … [The parties] would throw a cabinet out [of] power every month, sometimes every two months, or three months. It was getting too chaotic. We criticised the whole thing … So when the 17 October affair took place we gave it our support. We said

that we must have more order in our political life than we have seen in the past … The military … coming fresh from the Revolution had as much say about the future of the people, of this nation, as these damn bloody politicians. Why should we allow the politicians, who had already shown their high irresponsibility, to decide on the future of the country by themselves?'[41] Apprehensive at the prospect of public disorder, Mochtar backed the military as a bulwark against unrest. He was keen to have parliament dissolved and more stringent conditions placed on the establishment of political parties to stop small groups with narrow sectional interests forming independent political parties.

Mochtar Lubis had good personal relations with Colonel Nasution and the commanders of the troops surrounding the palace. He had known of the officers' intentions in advance and had agreed to lend the support of *Indonesia Raya*. Brentel Susilo, one source of the paper's information, later claimed he intended to influence *Indonesia Raya*'s coverage so it would downplay the military show of force and the senior officers' confrontation with Sukarno, putting more emphasis on the wishes of the people, and 'people's democracy'.[42]

In his well-known daily satirical 'corner column' (*pojok)*, 'By the Roadside', Mochtar Lubis, writing under his pseudonym 'Mas Kluyur', jovially noted the suspicions PNI Minister of Information had of *Indonesia Raya*.[43] Because *Indonesia Raya* had run its trenchant editorial on 16 October titled 'It would be best if the parliament was disbanded' in bold face type, the Minister accused the paper of 'organising the show'. While the appearance of the editorial can be explained by Mochtar's admission that he was conversant with the military officers' intentions, Mas Kluyur did not admit this at the time but simply criticised 'this coffee stall called a provisional parliament'.

Mochtar's great disappointment with Nasution and his allies for not pressing their demands more forcefully led to a parting of their political ways. As a consequence of the 17 October incident, Nasution and key supporters were suspended. Nasution was to spend three years in limbo before being reappointed Army Chief of Staff in 1955, rehabilitated as a political ally of Sukarno.

Sukarno's marriage to Hartini

In an extraordinary scoop in September 1954, *Indonesia Raya* exposed President Sukarno's previously secret marriage to Mrs Hartini Suwondo, from the small Central Javanese town of Salatiga.[44] Mochtar Lubis had been approached by representatives of women's groups who asked *Indonesia Raya* to take up the issue because of their opposition to the President's secret polygamous marriage.[45] The Indonesian Women's Association [*Perwari*] claimed that Hartini's divorce had not been legally finalised when she wed the President in June 1954. Sukarno acknowledged later that 'the situation embarrassed and angered me painfully', that he was 'distressed … especially when the newspapers went to town on me', which they did, led by *Indonesia Raya*.[46]

The majority of *Indonesia Raya*'s articles on the marriage were written by Kustiniyati Mochtar, a female journalist who had joined *Indonesia Raya* in

November 1952,[47] but their content reflects the high moral stance for which Mochtar Lubis was renowned. Mochtar felt that it was hypocritical of the President, who had written a book, *Sarinah*, about the freeing of Indonesian womanhood from traditional constraints, to adopt polygamy.[48] By depicting the marriage as demeaning to Indonesian women, *Indonesia Raya* represented the attitudes of urban, 'modern', secular readers, who could not accept that Islam permitted polygamy, or that Sukarno had the right to behave as a traditional Javanese ruler.

The perseverance with which the issue was pursued suggests that Mochtar Lubis himself saw good reason to sustain it, especially since, as Chambert-Loir explains, 'The letter from the president of the women's association used by *Indonesia Raya* to launch the affair was a private letter and the signatory reproached the paper for using it in this manner'.[49] This was the most conspicuous of a number of criticisms of the personal life and behaviour of the President, pursued with journalistic tenacity for more than a year.[50]

Mochtar's moralistic streak was one reason for the attack. But it also proved commercially lucrative. The 'beat-up' of the Hartini wedding increased *Indonesia Raya*'s circulation. But by selecting a 'moral' issue Mochtar Lubis was able to attack Sukarno without appearing to be forfeiting his paper's claim to be politically independent. Since the days of the Revolution, Mochtar had nurtured a distaste for the President, a dislike which was deepening into animosity. Mochtar Lubis had been critical of Sukarno's endorsement of the Japanese *romusha* program to conscript Indonesian labourers for overseas service. In a satirical short story, 'Kentung and the Medicine Pedlar', published in December 1949, Mochtar lampooned Sukarno's oratory as providing the inspiration for a pedlar of bogus remedies, who admitted

> [people] are transfixed by the name of Sukarno, and [so] I gave a sales pitch imitating Sukarno, making my voice strong, widening my eyes, really putting on a performance … I really believe now [I can] sell words, say anything, praise to the heavens, make promises the size of mountains … I've decided I'll just imitate Bung Karno; that'll make this coloured water medicine sell![51]

Sukarno was coming to represent almost all of the political values and personal qualities Mochtar despised. Mochtar regarded him as sexually promiscuous, egotistical, irrational, anti-intellectual and politically opportunistic. The President's oratorical power over the public, his populist style and his appeal to traditional Javanese made Mochtar Lubis apprehensive. But Feith observed that, although the 'initial reaction of the political public to the multiple marriage was negative … the President's prestige rose soon afterward when it became clear that feelings of shame and resentment were not at all widespread outside this public'.[52]

If Feith is correct, then *Indonesia Raya* was out of step with popular feeling outside the urban political world. Mochtar was out of step also with *Indonesia Raya*'s military backers. Major Brentel Susilo, who disagreed with the paper's criticism of the Hartini marriage, felt it unwise to launch personal attacks on the Head of State. Although Brentel Susilo had no formal link with *Indonesia*

Raya, he was still playing an important role in mobilising bridging finance when required. He was becoming wary of the editor's maverick style and bellicose stance against the president. From about 1956 Brentel Susilo would have preferred to edge Mochtar out of *Indonesia Raya* but, for the moment, he bided his time.

The Asian-African conference and the hospitality committee

On 18 April 1955 India's Jawaharlal Nehru, China's Chou En-lai, Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser and many other prominent leaders of the Third World gathered in Bandung, in West Java, for the commencement of the first conference of Asian and African heads of government. The conference was a catalyst for the development of the Third World as a political force. It was an occasion for both Sukarno and the Prime Minister of the day, the PNI's Ali Sastroamidjojo, to present themselves and their country as pioneers of this movement, and to establish themselves as international statespersons. The Bandung Conference put Indonesia on the world map.[53]

Predictably such an ambitious venture for a young nation facing massive internal economic, social and political challenges invited criticism. During the planning stage for the conference, *Indonesia Raya*, in chorus with the Masyumi's *Abadi*, the PSI's *Pedoman* and other papers associated with opposition to the PNI-led government, was critical of the scheme, which it regarded as distracting attention from domestic problems.[54] Once it became clear that a very large number of the top figures of the two continents had arrived in Bandung, it was difficult for the opposition press to belittle its significance. But *Indonesia Raya* chose to make an issue of one embarrassing aspect of the event.

While covering the conference Mochtar Lubis was informed that he could obtain a 'hospitality committee' card, along with a list of 'safe houses' where women were located, to cater to the pleasures of the delegates. He went to the houses, interviewed the women and broke the scoop, which he regarded as one of the most important issues taken up by *Indonesia Raya* during the 1950s. Later Mochtar Lubis claimed privately that he was not objecting to men in positions of authority visiting prostitutes, but to the government procuring women for the delegates of the conference.[55] *Indonesia Raya*'s exposure of the 'hospitality committee' did 'strip the government of a little of its newly won prestige', but the scandal was regarded by observers as detracting little from the national pride generated by the international gathering.[56]

Indonesia Raya revived the issue of the 'hospitality committee' the following year when it accused an Indonesian Chinese public servant, Lie Hok Thay, implicated in a financial scandal exposed by *Indonesia Raya*, of facilitating the establishment of the 'committee' and, in more general terms, of finding women to 'satisfy the desires' of several Indonesian officials.[57] A month previously, *Indonesia Raya* had featured front-page articles detailing a 'Female Public Servant's Bitter Experience' of being sexually harassed by her boss, the head of the cultural office of the Ministry of Education, Instruction and Culture. The prurient report devoted little space to rational explanations or facts.[58]

These stories illustrate a recurring tension in *Indonesia Raya*'s journalistic style, as it sought to expose and condemn sexual abuse and exploitation, while succumbing to the temptation of presenting such material in a way that would boost sales. *Indonesia Raya*'s lurid descriptions were uncommon in the Indonesian press of the period. Sceptical of the paper's moral outrage, some women's groups complained papers like *Indonesia Raya* were breaching public morality in their reporting. One women's caucus, in a statement directed specifically at *Indonesia Raya*, urged the press to 'refrain from publishing statements which are of a sensationalist nature and breach the limits of decency'.[59]

Indonesia Raya's coverage of the Asian-African Conference's 'hospitality committee' and the Hartini marriage were cited by the PKI leader Njoto as examples of how the 'right-wing press' trivialised the achievements of the government and belittled the President.[60] ANTARA's leftist editor-in-chief, Djawoto, warned of the dangers of what he dubbed 'cowboy journalism',[61] presumably a veiled reference to Mochtar Lubis who, because of his tall build and his close relations with Americans, was caricatured as a lanky cowboy.[62] This style of journalism, leftists argued, ignored important issues such as colonialism and, instead, highlighted the supposed dangers of communism. They accused it of being anarchistic, simplistic and sensationalist.[63] Mochtar was not perturbed and his publishing interests continued to expand. In October 1955, *Indonesia Raya* commenced a weekly features magazine, *Masa & Dunia* [Era & World], which was transformed three months later into a Sunday edition of *Indonesia Raya*.

The arrest of Roeslan Abdulgani

After the failure of the 17 October movement of 1952, *Indonesia Raya* maintained its push for a resolute, unified style of government, criticising the divisiveness and unpredictability of party politics.[64] The frequency and vigour of *Indonesia Raya*'s campaigns against corruption and inefficiency established the paper as a political gadfly. This was heightened after 1953 by its vigorous anticommunism as the Communist Party grew in power and influence.

Mochtar Lubis was becoming increasingly independent of *Indonesia Raya*'s military backers. He capitalised on the media base he had established with military assistance and gradually grew beyond their influence. But *Indonesia Raya* still staunchly supported military factions critical of the central government. In one editorial, for example, the paper praised the Armed Forces as the 'pioneers in the revolution, pioneers in [economic] development', while slamming 'our old, corrupt and immoral politicians [who] have proved such a failure in the past'.[65] Mochtar's relationship to the military can be gauged by his changing relationships with two major military figures, both Mandailingers like Mochtar himself: Abdul Haris Nasution and Zulkifli Lubis.[66] Close to Nasution till October 1952, his loyalties had shifted to Zulkifli Lubis by 1955, by which time he was strongly opposed to Nasution's political tactics.

By 1956 promising attempts at reconciling post-October 1952 factions in the army leadership were foundering.[67] Nasution and several other 17 October officers

had been reactivated. He was promoted to Major General and reappointed Army Chief of Staff in October 1955. But another schism was developing along rather different fault lines to that of October 1952. On the one hand, Nasution had become aligned with the president and Ali Sastroamidjojo's PNI cabinet, and associated, in the minds of critics, with the growing influence of the ethnic Javanese in government and the Armed Forces. Critical of this centralised power alliance was a group of officers around Deputy Chief of Staff Colonel Zulkifli Lubis and Colonel Simbolon, a former rival for Nasution's position of Chief of Staff. Critical sentiments in the Outer Islands and in West Java against Jakarta were rising, backing the dissenting officers, who were supported by Masyumi and PSI leaders and by newspapers sympathetic to them, including *Indonesia Raya*. The division corresponded to tensions between Jakarta on the one hand and regional resentment of central control on the other.[68] Mochtar was highly critical of Nasution and the political line and moral credentials of the PNI cabinet.[69] By contrast, in January 1956 Zulkifli Lubis was declared *Indonesia Raya* readers' choice for Indonesian Personality of 1955.[70]

On 13 August 1956, *Indonesia Raya*, normally a morning paper, put out an extraordinary afternoon bulletin to report that Foreign Minister Roeslan Abdulgani had been implicated in investigations into corruption, accepting financial favours from Lie Hok Thay, deputy director of the State Printery.[71] At 6.00 AM that morning, two hours before the Minister was due to leave for a London conference, Roeslan had been arrested by order of the Siliwangi Division's commander, Colonel Alex Kawilarang, backed by Zulkifli Lubis. That very day, Kawilarang, designated the next military attaché to the USA, was due to be relieved of his command by a Nasution appointee. Hasty intervention by the Prime Minister had Roeslan's arrest order revoked by Nasution, and the Minister departed on time, leaving the city abuzz with anticipation. *Indonesia Raya* went onto the attack, claiming that Kawilarang had moral authority on his side and damning the intervention of the authorities to release a corruptor.[72] Critical of Nasution's alliance with the PNI, *Indonesia Raya*'s slant clearly supported the officers opposing the central command.

A government *ad hoc* investigation cleared Roeslan of any criminal breach of law in August 1956, but *Indonesia Raya* kept up the pressure. In December 1956, Mochtar Lubis was taken to court accused of libel for comments on the Roeslan case and his editorial claims that the Cabinet had conspired to cover up the facts. Mochtar produced documents supporting his claims that the Foreign Minister had accepted a house and car from Lie, and, in return, taken foreign currency overseas illegally for him.[73] Mochtar was consequently acquitted and in April 1957, a month after the fall of the Ali cabinet, the Supreme Court fined Roeslan for unintentionally breaching foreign exchange regulations.[74]

Officers in revolt

While attacking Roeslan Abdulgani, *Indonesia Raya* was also defending Zulkifli Lubis against criticisms from both the political left and the Nasution faction.

Mochtar Lubis (center) and journalist colleague Rosihan Anwar, consult legal counsel over press constraints (1957). (Photo: ©IPPHOS (the Indonesian Press Photo Service). Reprinted with permission.

Zulkifli Lubis had relinquished his post as Deputy Chief of Staff a week after the Roeslan exposé, as did a number of key supporters. In November, after three months of tense internal army plotting and manoeuvring, Zulkifli Lubis attempted to shore up the troop strength of his supporters in the capital in a move against the Nasution command. He was backed by those officers who felt that they would soon be the subject of dismissal or arrest for their pro-Zulkifli Lubis sympathies. On 28 November 1956, Cabinet suspended Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, accusing him of attempting an unsuccessful coup.[75] He remained underground until emerging in Sumatra in 1957 in the company of officers involved in regional revolts. While cautiously refraining from supporting Zulkifli Lubis's actions outright, *Indonesia Raya* was at great pains to defend the colonel from accusations in other rival media.[76]

When Mochtar Lubis was arrested some months later, he was questioned extensively about his relationship with Zulkifli Lubis and *Indonesia Raya*'s publication of various letters from the colonel.[77] Zulkifli Lubis was a distant cousin of Mochtar[78] and had been Bachtar Lubis's superior officer during the Revolution when he headed the military intelligence organisation, *Brani*. Although the editor denied that '*Indonesia Raya* had become Colonel Lubis's trumpet',[79] the paper gave prominence nonetheless, both in articles and in editorial comment, to the arguments of this officer openly challenging an army superior and civilian authority. Similarly, wide and favourable coverage was given to

Siliwangi officers, such as Colonel Alex Kawilarang, when they challenged the central government.[80] *Indonesia Raya* sympathised with the Siliwangi officers and was prepared in 1956, as in 1952, to support them against their political adversaries.

On 20 December 1956, the regimental commander in West Sumatra, Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Husein took charge of government in Central Sumatra in a bloodless coup. He stated that the action followed a decision taken the previous month at a reunion meeting of the Banteng Division (which had fought in Central Sumatra during the Revolution and later been dissolved by Nasution). The meeting had elected Ahmad Husein chairperson of a new 'Banteng Council', and expressed concern about the treatment of the outer regions. It urged the central government to fill local government positions with capable people from that region, rather than outsiders, and it voiced its disapproval of the leadership of the State and the Army.[81]

The next day, hearing of Ahmad Husein's declaration, Mochtar Lubis wrote an editorial which 'drew the conclusion that this incident will surely not be limited to Central Sumatra alone, but will have consequences for the other regions as well … The [coalition] Cabinet will not be able to overcome this, nor will President Soekarno himself, without Bung Hatta, nor will Chief of Staff Nasution'. He urged the Cabinet to step down and 'if necessary for the greater good, then President Soekarno and Chief of Staff Nasution must also be prepared to relinquish their positions'.[82] Before this bold challenge could go to press, Mochtar Lubis was arrested on 21 December 1956, and the editorial was never published. The following day, *Indonesia Raya* front page headlines made the paper's reservations about the government's ability to cope with the political situation clear: 'The Cabinet Cannot Overcome the Explosion in Central Sumatra'. Gaps were left to indicate censored material and large letters announced: 'Mochtar Lubis Taken by the Military Police Corps'.[83]

Mochtar's doomed editorial correctly predicted that the Central Sumatran rebellion would spread to other parts of the Outer Islands. It was also representative of the political outlook which characterised the spate of rebel movements which were to exercise control of many provinces outside Java throughout 1957. Inflation and the manipulation of the foreign exchange rate had hurt the export-producing areas of the Outer Islands, favouring Java, as an importing area.[84] In the 1955 elections, the PNI, NU and PKI, three of the four main parties, gained more than 85 per cent of their votes from Java (and mainly Central and East Java), reinforcing a cleavage between these three and the Masyumi, which gained much of its support in the Outer Islands.[85] The election results aggravated the sense of grievance felt by some in the Outer Islands, as did the resignation of Vice President Hatta on 1 December 1956, a man 'many non-Javanese, and especially Sumatrans, had tended to regard … as their representative' in the partnership with Sukarno, whom they saw as representing Javanese interests.[86] A large increase in PKI votes in the mid-1957 provincial elections in Java exacerbated the feeling of noncommunist Outer Islanders that the country was gradually succumbing to Javanese communists.[87]

While this situation posed dilemmas for many Javanese noncommunists, for Sumatrans like Mochtar Lubis, regional loyalty only enhanced their staunch opposition to communism. After meetings in September and October 1957, rebel officers expressed the demands of the regionalists as: the election of a new president (because of Sukarno's alleged pro-PKI bias), the replacement of Nasution and his supporters within the central army staff, and finally the banning of the PKI. The distinctly regionalist themes of the movement dovetailed with anti-Sukarno and anticommunist ones.

Mochtar, though not an official spokesperson, had expressed grievances felt by the regionalist rebels in *Indonesia Raya* editorials. He had the support of *Indonesia Raya* staff in the stand he took on the West Sumatran revolt. This was partly because two-thirds of the editorial staff were Sumatran,[88] including Hasjim Mahdan, Enggak Bahau'ddin, D.H. Assegaff, Ali Hoeta Soehoet, Mohamadnoer, as well as Mochtar Lubis himself. But such was the ethos within the paper that the non-Sumatran staff were also sympathetic to the view that successive Jakarta governments had neglected the Outer Islands.

On 15 February 1958, the regional rebellion climaxed when the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) was declared in Sumatra.[89] As was subsequently exposed and as Mochtar later acknowledged, the American CIA was heavily involved in funding and supporting the PRRI as part of 'the United States' efforts to stem the expansion in influence and power of the communists in Indonesia'.[90] Mochtar Lubis was given special mention in the PRRI manifesto, which severed links with the central government of Sukarno. In explaining why they had declared their independence, they included in their specifications: 'Mochtar Lubis, a journalist who has been particularly courageous in upholding truth and justice and has attacked tyranny and oppression at its very source, has already been under arrest for well over a year … without having been brought up for trial in court'.[91] The declaration went on to mention particular corruption cases exposed by Mochtar Lubis in *Indonesia Raya*, such as the accusations against Roeslan Abdulgani.

Why was it, then, that Mochtar Lubis was arrested, and who specifically instigated it? Mochtar Lubis himself asserts that the censoring of his 21 December 1956 editorial prior to the release of the paper indicates that 'it is very clear that my detention is entirely directed towards my activities as a journalist'.[92] *Indonesia Raya* had provided the first press story on the Sumatran coup.[93] Behind the instruction to detain him, Mochtar Lubis saw Nasution, Sukarno and the PKI. While Nasution, criticised openly in an article in *Indonesia Raya* on 12 November 1956, was regarded by Mochtar as weak-willed and unprincipled, Mochtar attributed his arrest to Communist influence upon the President, seeing 'the hand of the communists behind my detention'.[94] He was emphatic that he was not arrested because of his relationship with military officers engaged in activities threatening the unity of the state but because of his long-standing opposition to the PKI and criticisms of the president.

However, Mochtar's own reports of his interrogations suggest that the authorities believed he was conniving with Zulkifli Lubis, and other sympathisers in the

outer islands, to undermine the authority of the central government.[95] Years later, in an interview, Nasution described how he initiated orders for Mochtar's arrest because of the editor's links with Zulkifli Lubis: 'Mochtar Lubis's newspaper supported Zulkifli Lubis. We could not act against him until we found a press card of Mochtar's in the possession of one of [Zulkifli] Lubis's officers, who had been arrested. I told the garrison commander to arrest Mochtar'.[96]

American Willard Hanna, a good friend of Mochtar Lubis and long-time observer of Indonesian politics during this period, believed that, despite 'vague and conflicting' military statements concerning his arrest, Mochtar Lubis was assumed by the authorities to be 'very deeply involved in the stirring up of public dissatisfaction with the Jakarta regime which was the basic reason for the [regional] insurrection'.[97] Hanna suggested four reasons for Mochtar's detention without trial: first, 'he gave offense to a great many very prominent people, including Bung Karno and members of the military command'; second, he was suspected of having been 'not merely sympathetic but perhaps even helpful to the regional insurrectionists'; third, a public trial would 'result in sensational revelations'; and finally, if released, Mochtar would 'resume his role of gadfly'.[98]

While some journalists had been temporarily detained for several days or charged under press laws for libel or similar offences prior to 1957, Mochtar Lubis was the first editor in the post-1949 history of Indonesia to be held without charge for anything more than a couple of weeks.[99] As Oey Hong Lee observed, 'For the Indonesian press world as a whole the '[Mochtar] Lubis affair' was a foretaste of things to come under Martial Law, which began in March 1957 and which limited the freedom of journalists to express their opinions'.[100] Mochtar Lubis had become the boldest and most prominent of the anti-Sukarno and anti-Communist editors. His arrest and long detention – and particularly his determination not to compromise his views in return for leniency – earned him a life-long reputation as a courageous symbol of 'press freedom'. As public interest in his circumstances grew, on 16 October 1957, military authorities responded to ongoing press protests over Mochtar's detention, primarily in *Indonesia Raya*, by forbidding published comment on the case, unless it came from authorised sources, like the Army Information Office.[101] Controlling domestic coverage failed to staunch international interest. During his detention, numerous protests were made on his behalf by a range of international organisations, including repeated appeals by the Zurich-based International Press Institute.[102] Overseas attention increased also when, in August 1958, he was awarded the prestigious Ramon Magsaysay Award for Journalism and Literature, regarded as Asia's equivalent to the coveted Nobel Prize.

Cold war politics and the world citizen

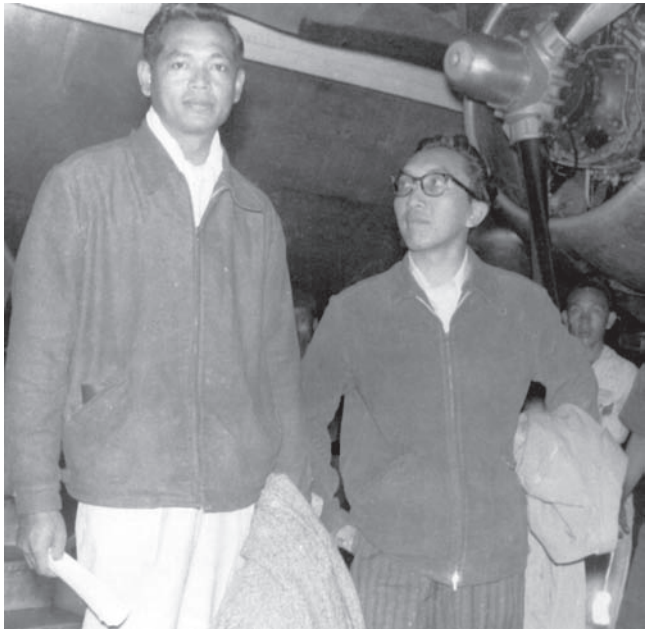
In the seven years between the founding of *Indonesia Raya* and Mochtar Lubis's arrest he had established the beginnings of an international constituency which was to play an increasing role in his professional and political activities and in his

intellectual sustenance. He had formed these personal and professional connections through his frequent overseas travel, his participation in key international organisations that had emerged as part of the Cold War, and his extensive network of foreign friends and colleagues in Jakarta. The young nationalist journalist had made some valuable forays onto the world stage.

Since the Independence struggle, Mochtar Lubis had associated freely with Western, particularly American, diplomatic staff, journalists and residents of Jakarta, being regarded as one of the closest Indonesian journalists to the Americans.[103] The impact he had upon them is reflected in their writings through the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Willard A. Hanna, US Information Service head and cultural attaché in the late 1940s and later prolific writer for the American Universities Field Staff, wrote on several occasions in glowing terms about Mochtar Lubis, whom he regarded, in 1956, as 'one of the leading young journalists and literary figures in Indonesia. He commands a widespread readership and as widespread an admiration for his literary and his journalistic style, his forthright expression of reasoned political opinion, and his long-time record of patriotic activities in the Indonesian revolution'.[104]

Even though local journalists regarded *Indonesia Raya* as pro-Siliwangi, Hanna preferred to describe it as Indonesia's 'leading independent daily' paper.[105] In 1959, he reported expansively, that 'to a very great extent … the zest and the flamboyance have gone out of the Indonesian newspaper world since the inadvertent withdrawal of Mochtar Lubis'.[106] Hanna had earlier assisted Mochtar in compiling *Pers dan Wartawan* [The Press and Journalists], one of several handbooks the young Indonesian produced with material largely culled from English-language publications.[107] Edward C. Smith, a former US Air Force officer who served with the diplomatic corps in Indonesia in 1957–58, wrote a dissertation on the suppression of the Indonesian press between 1949 and 1965 in which, of all journalists and newspapers of the period, he gave greatest attention to Mochtar Lubis, *Indonesia Raya* and the English daily Mochtar founded, *The Times of Indonesia*.[108] Similarly, Robert H. Crawford, in his study of the Jakarta press, highlighted Mochtar Lubis and *Indonesia Raya* as 'outstanding' among those 'journalists and newspapers with great courage and sense of responsibility' during the constitutional democracy period.[109] Mochtar provided a personal prism through which such foreigners could interpret Indonesian affairs.

During the early postwar period, Mochtar travelled extensively overseas, to the degree that surprised many observers, including Willard Hanna, who described him as 'an early Indonesian John Gunther'.[110] In 1950, he made two trips abroad. In April, he visited various Southeast Asian capitals with Adam Malik, to cement closer relations between ANTARA and other national news agencies, and in September he went to Korea, via Japan, as a war correspondent.[111] Three months of 1951 were spent in America.[112] In May 1952, he attended an IPI conference in Paris with colleagues Suardi Tasrif and Rosihan Anwar, returning home via Rome and Cairo.[113] In 1953, he joined an Indonesian 'Goodwill Mission' to Burma led by the Sultan of Jogjakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX. He participated in an Asian Socialists Conference in Rangoon. In May the following year, he went to another



Mochtar Lubis (left) and journalist colleague Rosihan Anwar returning from one of their frequent trips abroad in 1956. (Photo: ©IPPHOS (the Indonesian Press Photo Service). Reprinted with permission.

IPI conference, with Tasrif and B.M. Diah, exploring Western Europe. That year also he was invited by the US Government to return to New York in October, from where he continued to Mexico and then Western Europe.[114] In February 1955, he returned to Rangoon for a conference organised jointly by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the [Burmese] Society for the Extension of Democratic Ideals[115] and, later in the year, he visited Australia with a Goodwill Mission led by Mohamad Roem. In April 1956, he was in Tokyo for an IPI conference which he followed, in September, with another IPI meeting in Zurich for Dutch and Indonesian journalists.

By any measure of the times, this was frequent travel at a cracking pace. As he saw it, his role as editor required him to understand international affairs and he was actively interested in the major issues of global ideological conflict. His *Indonesia Raya* articles and various books based on his travels illuminate his views on the people and politics of the countries he traversed. Two trips abroad, early in his career, exemplify this.

In September 1950, Mochtar Lubis began a tour, as a United Nations War Correspondent, covering the Korean War.[116] His published reports, for which he won an Indonesian Journalists' Association award, accorded with the Indonesian government policy (as enunciated by Vice President Hatta) of 'non-alignment

through an active and independent foreign policy'.[117] In February 1948, Sjahrir had sown 'the seeds of post-independence foreign policy, namely a commitment to non-alignment', in a speech before the provisional parliament, the Central Indonesian National Committee (KNIP).[118] On 2 September 1948, Hatta in a declaration before the KNIP, advocated that Indonesia 'row between the two rocks' of Russia on the one hand, and America on the other.[119] Hatta was, in practice, far more amenable to cooperation with the Americans, but kept significant aspects of his diplomatic dealings with the US secret, to avoid a domestic backlash from the left. His attitude to the Soviet Union was much more circumspect.[120] As Prime Minister till August 1950, Hatta also held the foreign affairs portfolio and had adopted a neutral position over 'the so-called civil war in Korea', which he declared to be really a matter for the two Cold War powers.[121] This 'independent and active' foreign policy was enthusiastically endorsed by the PNI and Sukarno at that time.

Mochtar Lubis reported that the Korean conflict was not really between Koreans, who were the victims of foreign powers skirmishing. He pointed to the lesson for Indonesia: 'if we once allow our national unity to be torn apart by ideologies and influences from overseas, then the door is cast open which leads to great disaster for our nation and our country'.[122] He noted that America continued to make the fatal error of supporting 'reactionary powers in Asia' against the best interests of the Asian people.[123] Mochtar depicted the South Korean regime of Syngman Rhee as unpopular, surviving only because of 'support from the United States of America and because of the prestige obtained by UN recognition' (pp. 53 & 79–87). North Korean leader Kim Il Sung, whom Mochtar regarded as a patriot for his fight against the Japanese, 'can point out how Rhee is merely an American puppet, a national traitor' (p. 82). For Mochtar, Kim's invasion of the South on 25 June 1950 was a legitimate attempt to unify the country.

Soon after his observations of US military involvement in Korea, Mochtar had an opportunity to spend more than three months in America, arriving on the first of many visits on 31 May 1951. He wanted to evaluate the 'American way of life' rather than to analyse a political system. For him, individuals, rather than a political system, provided the key to understanding America. His impression was generally favourable, although he was struck by the racism and pollution, alongside opulence, extravagance and waste.

The American people impressed him greatly. He found them friendly, helpful, fair minded, hard working and efficient achievers. He praised the achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority in improving the living standards of participating farmers; the Ford Motor Company for providing facilities and a high living standard for workers; and the trade unions for their organisational achievements and discipline. Throughout his journey, he was met and assisted by representatives of the Indonesian and American administrations and leading professional figures, who opened their homes and their offices to him. His American associates did not want to interfere in other countries, were tired of paying to help developing nations, but desperately wanted to rid the world of communism. He noted, without any hint of criticism, that much of America's prosperity was due to the gearing

of its economy to the production of war materials. Mochtar explained the US government's view of the world political situation on its own terms: Russia was a threat, and the US was arming to defend itself. He disliked the way foreigners branded the Americans as a 'capitalist, materialistic, and lately imperialistic nation [and] I myself do not believe in attaching these labels', because they limit deeper understanding.[124]

Yet, the Indonesian criticised America's anticommunist mentality and the way that was fostered by the government. Commenting on Senator McCarthy's attempts to hunt out communists, Mochtar saw no communist threat in America. The standard of living was too high for people to want to change the social or economic situation. Echoing an oft-repeated condemnation of Indonesian parliamentarians, he noted that American politicians were usually linked with big business and were in politics for personal gain. Although Mochtar was sceptical about many of the claims made for the American way of life, he enjoyed America greatly, admiring American efficiency, openness, individual freedom, discipline, and hard work.

In February 1952, back in Jakarta, Mochtar followed the lead of an *Abadi* scoop, exposing a renegotiation of the terms of US-Indonesian relations, in accordance with America's Mutual Security Act (MSA) of 1951.[125] This new act required an aid-recipient country such as Indonesia to, among other conditions, '[make] a full contribution, consistent with its political and economic capacity, its population, natural resources, facilities and general economic situation, to the development and maintenance of its own defenses and *to the defensive strength of the free world*'.[126] On 5 January 1952, before any cabinet debate, unbeknown to the chiefs of the armed forces and month before the existence of the agreement became public knowledge, Indonesian Foreign Minister Subardjo wrote to the US Ambassador accepting the terms of the act.

When exposed, this government connivance with the Americans was chastised by many sections of the Indonesian press, including *Indonesia Raya*. The subsequent public outcry and political jockeying resulted in the fall of the Masyumi-dominated Cabinet.[127] Public opinion disapproved of the covert manner in which the agreement was negotiated, and there was suspicion America was attempting to draw Indonesia too tightly into its strategic embrace. America had made efforts in Indonesia's brief independent history to pressure the young nation into bowing to its policies. In May 1951, the US State Department had balked at a statement by Foreign Minister Subardjo that Indonesia 'would sell [rubber] to the devil if this would serve the people's interests', because the Americans interpreted this as tantamount to admitting that Indonesia would sell a strategic material to China, contravening a US-sponsored trade embargo on such items. The State Department notified Indonesia that the sale of such material to China would mean that 'Indonesia has moved away from its independent policy and will be considered by the United States to have chosen the Soviet bloc'.[128] *Indonesia Raya*'s opposition to the MSA agreement indicated Mochtar Lubis's desire that Indonesia should have an independent, nonaligned foreign policy, and should maintain a healthy distance from American geopolitical intentions in Southeast

Asia, as well as those of Russia and China. He later reflected of the MSA revelations, 'Before, the status of the United States was very high. It seemed to embody our ideals of freedom. When this occurred, my generation … were shocked. We became very suspicious of the United States'.[129]

In subsequent years, domestic political changes within Indonesia led Mochtar Lubis to take more unambiguously pro-American positions. In the years after 1953, the Indonesian communist movement grew and President Sukarno and the powerful PNI began to cooperate with it. Also PNI-led cabinets drew closer to China and the USSR which indicated willingness to support Indonesia's 'national claim', and Sukarno's personal crusade, for the western half of Papua (retained by the Dutch after the Transfer of Sovereignty). The Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet had appointed Indonesia's first ambassador to China in October 1953, and in March 1954, the Russians opened an embassy in Jakarta.[130] The anti-Sukarno groups around the Masyumi and Socialist parties correspondingly moved to a position of more active cooperation with the USA.

One important aspect of Mochtar Lubis's role in the 1950s was his participation in organisations such as the IPI. These international, but Western-oriented, organisations, steeped in the attitudes of the Cold War, helped to shape his view of the outside world and gave him a heightened sense of confidence about the roles he was playing in Indonesia. Mochtar's participation since 1951 in the IPI made him well known in that international community. Young and confident, he dealt comfortably with Westerners on their own terms in such situations. In 1954, for example, during a press seminar in Zurich, he responded angrily to Dutch participants' claims that the press in Indonesia was still undeveloped. His nationalist pride offended, he thumped the table and demanded that the Dutch withdraw their comments![131] But Mochtar also made numerous friends at these overseas gatherings, to the degree that even close comrades in Indonesia thought he was closer in outlook to IPI colleagues than to his Indonesian friends.[132] When he was detained, the IPI actively lobbied for his release, as did the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the writers' organisation PEN International and Amnesty International.[133]

In its international reports, *Indonesia Raya* gave wide, and generally positive, coverage to events in Western countries. Criticisms were specific, presented amidst a wide variety of information, showing the paper's broad interest in developments in the West. Foreign material used in *Indonesia Raya* was generally from Western sources, in accordance with the orientation of the paper. The entertainment sections, for example, featured Hollywood reports, American-sourced popular science articles, or human interest stories. Reports about activities in Communist countries were frequently presented in negative terms. International communist events were often linked to the domestic communist party in such a way as to present the Indonesian party as an agent of an international movement. During the de-Stalinisation period in Russia in the 1950s, PKI leader Aidit was ridiculed for his former support for Stalin and his subsequent condemnation of the dead leader. He was particularly lampooned in Sam Soeharto's cartoons. In one, Khrushchev is smashing a large statue of Stalin and Aidit is shown being hit by Stalin's boot as

it crashes down from the shattering statue.[134] 'Mas Kluyur' commonly ridiculed Indonesian communists by referring to them mockingly as 'kamaradski'.

Domestically, *Indonesia Raya* gave space to anticommunist pronouncements by public figures, but reported PKI statements with editorial interpretation and unfavourable comment. Within months of the PKI success in the 1955 elections, *Indonesia Raya* ran a front-page headline 'If the PKI comes to power individual basic rights and democracy will vanish; the PKI is not nationalist but dictatorial'. The article detailed a speech by Masyumi leader Mohammad Natsir, warning the people against communism.[135] In a follow-up editorial that moved from a discussion of the world communist movement to the domestic party, the paper warned against the PKI claim that it was taking the parliamentary road to communism. Irrespective of the road taken, the PKI would bring in a communist dictatorship and wipe out 'freedom' and 'the people's spirit' in Indonesia, the editorialist argued.[136]

As the paper became more overtly anticommunist, it attracted as regular feature writers anticommunist activists like the essayist Wiratmo Soekito, who wrote the cultural column, and H. Firdaus A.N., who compiled the Religious Column.[137] From September 1956, Firdaus wrote over the byline 'Secretary-General of the Anti-Communist Front'.[138] The following year he represented Indonesia at the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League conference in Saigon and on 26 June 1961, he was arrested for 'insulting President Sukarno' in a book he wrote about the Hartini marriage.[139]

On few topics did *Indonesia Raya* mingle news and editorial opinion as freely as on matters to do with communism, and it is in this that the claim to be 'professional' and unbiased was dubious. An example of this was the coverage given to a difference of opinion between PKI leaders Aidit and Alimin, in July 1956 regarding the first tenet of the 'Five Principles' [*Pancasila*] enunciated by Sukarno as underpinning Indonesia's belief system. Under the headline 'Aidit dishonest', the article highlights Alimin's criticism of Aidit's statements on the PKI's attitude to 'Belief in God'. The paper does not report simply what Alimin said against the background of Aidit's comments, but embellishes with unsubstantiated accusations against the PKI in a distinctly partisan style.[140]

If the paper's editor was beginning to make his mark internationally, the paper itself was tenaciously wooing a domestic readership in an increasingly ideologically polarised constituency. In his combat against Sukarno and the rising Communist Party, Mochtar was fighting an uneven battle – and paying a heavy price for it.

The lingering death of *Indonesia Raya*

On 5 January 1957, a fortnight after being arrested, Mochtar was released from the Budi Utomo Street Military Detention Centre into house arrest where he remained until freed on 29 April 1961. Technically, he was forbidden to receive guests, be interviewed, use the phone, or write.[141] But he was not prevented from writing, and exceptions were gradually made for guests, after he established cordial

relations with his guards. Mochtar was loaned films to screen at home by PSI friend Maria Ullfah, then chairperson of the Film Censorship Board.[142] Despite the relaxed and comfortable conditions of his detention, there were restrictions upon his movement and access for visitors. He particularly missed his flying lessons at the Jakarta Air Club and his sailing jaunts with the Pulau Seribu sailing club.[143]

Despite his arrest, *Indonesia Raya* continued to appear. From his home, Mochtar Lubis continued sending material to the paper (with Hally or son Iwan couriering it to Hasjim Mahdan) as the editor maintained his criticism of the government. Publication of anything regarded as propaganda for the rebels was banned by Nasution, however. The authorities continued to harass the paper and its staff. Sympathetic publications like *The Times of Indonesia*, which Mochtar had founded and which was now edited by his ANTARA friend Charles Tambu, kept the issue of his confinement before their readers.[144] While Mochtar was not regarded as particularly religious, Muslim supporters also rallied around, sending books and, from Masyumi leader Isa Anshary (who was himself later detained with Mochtar in Madiun prison), a prayer mat.[145] The PSI's *Siasat* magazine declared him 'Indonesian of the Year' for 1956.[146] During 1957–58, four other *Indonesia Raya* editorial staff also were temporarily detained, and six military banning orders kept the paper off the streets for various periods.[147] In early July 1958, in response to an approach by Hasjim Mahdan, the Justice Minister suggested he could secure an exit permit for Mochtar if he agreed to go into exile. Mochtar recorded in his diary, 'This suggestion I rejected, respectfully'.[148] That same month, while *Indonesia Raya* was banned temporarily, the government was angered when an American embassy official declared his desire for the paper to reopen (just when American material support for the PRRI government became public!).[149]

Policy differences between Mochtar and other company directors widened as bans increased in frequency and duration. Driven primarily by his passion for journalism and politics, Mochtar had given little attention to day-to-day administration, and financial management was a crucial weakness in the enterprise. Disagreements between Hasjim Mahdan and Mochtar Lubis about the priorities of the paper grew sharper. Hasjim Mahdan wanted to prioritise the survival of the newspaper and the job security of its staff. In an announcement in the paper Hasjim Mahdan likened his position to that of a ship's captain, who, when facing storms and hazards, adjusts his course to ensure his ship, crew and passengers reach their destination.[150] By contrast, for Mochtar Lubis, if a paper was no longer able to print the news as it saw it, it had a moral responsibility to shut down. The interests of the staff were secondary to its 'mission'. Hasjim Mahdan regarded Mochtar's tactic of charting his ship's course straight to his destination, irrespective of attendant hazards, being prepared, as captain, to go down with his vessel, as senseless 'suicide'.

In August 1958, the conflict was brought to a head when the Information Minister offered Hasjim Mahdan government financial assistance provided Mochtar Lubis resign and criticism was moderated.[151] Company shareholders Hasjim Mahdan and Sarhindi, whom some staff members assumed to be still

acting in concert with Brentel Susilo, withdrew their support for Mochtar, who was sacked by the company board on 20 August 1958.[152] Senior editors, Enggak Bahau'ddin and K. Sidharta, were reassigned to less responsible positions, replaced by Soejono Harjadi, a newcomer to the paper. In a sweeping demonstration of solidarity, all the editorial staff sided with Mochtar Lubis.[153] The internal fracas was reported in vivid detail on the paper's front pages. Initially, staff refused to accept the board's directives and managed to continue publishing *Indonesia Raya* under the old staffing arrangements until the authorities banned the paper on September 10. Continuing their struggle, staff members who had sided with Mochtar moved from the *Indonesia Raya* offices but brought out a parallel paper competing with Hasjim Mahdan's *Indonesia Raya*, also using that name.[154]

This move was short-lived, as was the Mochtar Lubis faction's plan to publish a rival paper, *Suara Indonesia Raya* [The Voice of Indonesia Raya]. The local military authorities, empowered by a state of emergency declared after the outer island revolts, had ruled that all newspapers had to register by 1 October 1958 to be eligible for a henceforth obligatory publication permit. The Mochtar Lubis faction's application was rejected. Hasjim Mahdan's request was granted. That version of *Indonesia Raya*, colourless, disembodied and with little resemblance to the old paper, attracted few readers and survived only until 2 January 1959 when it voluntarily ceased publication.[155]

The staff ethos at *Indonesia Raya*

One reason Hasjim Mahdan's paper failed to sell was that it lacked the vivid personality and style distinctive of Mochtar Lubis, which had become synonymous with *Indonesia Raya*. Mochtar had exerted a persuasive authority over the paper's editorial policies and, for the staff, on *Indonesia Raya*'s ethos. For the public, 'Mas Kluyur', the persona of the satirical 'corner column' and hence the newspaper, had become Mochtar Lubis's alter ego![156]

Mochtar Lubis had a strong influence upon his staff, but this was tempered by a high level of individual independence in the work environment. As Kustiniyati Mochtar recalled, 'working under the leadership of Mochtar Lubis meant having to make your own way, solving problems yourself and taking full initiative. He is not the kind of person to lead us tediously step by step, and because above all he values independence, that free atmosphere was the editorial hallmark of the paper which he led … [An] independent but close and friendly atmosphere became a unique feature of the editorial office of our paper'.[157]

The working environment fostered a warm *esprit de corps* amongst the staff who felt a strong loyalty to the paper and its head. Mochtar also encouraged a sense of pride in his staff at being members of the journalistic profession. Solidarity was shown, for example, in August 1953 when journalists organised demonstrations in support of Asa Bafagih, editor-in-chief of *Pemandangan* [View]. A former colleague of Mochtar Lubis in ANTARA, Asa Bafagih had been charged with leaking state secrets in an editorial. Resisting pressure from the court, he refused

to breach professional confidentiality and reveal his informants, accepting full responsibility.[158] In what developed into a trial of journalistic ethics, Mochtar Lubis, then chairperson of the Indonesian committee of the International Press Institute, played a major part in organising a demonstration of a thousand journalists and supporters (including, using his military connections, procuring fire brigade band to enliven the protest!).[159]

The staff of *Indonesia Raya* regarded theirs as a 'crusading' newspaper, although they acknowledged that it had a reputation as 'sensationalist'. Most thought it a privilege to work under Mochtar Lubis and were strongly behind him on the majority of issues. Discussions were held periodically to examine policies and particular campaigns and a degree of consensus was generally reached. In the words of one journalist with the paper in the 1950s, the staff 'felt as one with Mochtar Lubis'. His staff found him a sociable, likeable man who took a personal interest in them, without overtones of paternalism or interference. Some were attracted because of his reputation as an author and artist, with a broad interest in culture and the arts. Mara Karma, for example, had been active in cultural magazines with Mochtar Lubis during the 1940s and continued on in *Indonesia Raya*. D.H. Assegaff, who joined in 1955, was a short story writer and translator. Sam Soeharto, the paper's cartoonist, was also a serious painter. Sympathetic writers and artists were also invited to submit articles either freelance or on a regular basis or to take charge of specific columns in the paper.

Staff were encouraged to be self-reliant and autonomous but the harmonious working environment, based on mutual respect, was partly a reflection of broadly similar attitudes to such issues as the PKI, weaknesses within the party system, support for the regional challenge to the central government, the role of the military, an appreciation of Western education, an embracing of concepts of modernity and rationalism rather than traditionalism, and a pragmatic, modernist attitude to religion. While *Indonesia Raya* was a convivial place for those sharing these views, some with contrary opinions found it unsympathetic. Umar Said, for example, had joined *Indonesia Raya* in 1950, several months after its inception. In 1953, when he was chosen to represent young Indonesian journalists at an international conference on the Rights of Youth in Vienna, Mochtar Lubis objected to him attending, even during unpaid leave. Mochtar regarded it as a communist-sponsored event and indicated the journalist's participation would reflect poorly upon *Indonesia Raya*. While not formally 'dismissed' over the disagreement, Umar Said felt no longer compatible at *Indonesia Raya*. He left the paper, moving to the PKI daily *Harian Rakyat* for three years and eventually heading up the left-wing *Ekonomi Nasional* [National Economy] from 1960 till 1965, after which he remained in political exile abroad.[160]

However, many journalists who served on *Indonesia Raya* regarded their years with the paper as some of the best in their working life. Some later joined other papers, but found them less concerned with idealism and the crusading spirit than with commercial success. Mochtar Lubis stressed firm adherence to professional ethics. In a handbook he published on the subject, he emphasised truth, accuracy, and balance. 'In compiling the news [he wrote] objective journalists have to keep

their own feelings in their hearts … for "it is the obligation of a journalist to provide a report which is correct, complete, unbiased and current" '.[161] Yet, in practice, there was a tension for Mochtar Lubis and for *Indonesia Raya* between values such as 'objectivity' and 'balance' on the one hand, and passionate partisanship on the other.[162] *Indonesia Raya* frequently adopted a consciously partisan position, such as over the 17 October Affair or the regional rebellions. Despite such contradictions the staff involved perceived their paper as guided by the unofficial motto, 'berani karena benar' [courage from truth].[163]

Unlike the editors of various other dailies with which *Indonesia Raya* was often compared - especially the Masyumi's *Abadi*, the PSI's *Pedoman* and the Chinese and business-oriented *Keng Po* - Mochtar Lubis maintained a position of outright opposition to the system of 'Guided Democracy' enunciated by Sukarno in 1959 after the defeat of the regionalist rebellions. Mochtar's maverick stance was demonstrated in 1961 when he recommended the expulsion of his close friend Rosihan Anwar, editor of *Pedoman*, from the Zurich-based International Press Institute (IPI), after Rosihan signed a 19-point agreement accepting press constraints under martial law.[164] Mochtar, former chairperson of the disbanded Indonesian national committee of the IPI, had been a founding member of the Indonesian committee in 1951, along with B.M. Diah, S. Tasrif and Rosihan Anwar.[165] Prior to his arrest, Mochtar had attended meetings regularly (on trips sometimes funded by the Asia Foundation or the Ministry of Information).[166] According to Tasrif, Mochtar and Rosihan Anwar were 'celebrities' in IPI circles.[167]

The IPI, which had publicised Mochtar's detention and formally protested to the President, treated his letter regarding Rosihan Anwar gravely.[168] Mochtar believed that the 1960 press document, binding the signatory to support the government's policies (known as Manipol-USDEK) was such that 'by signing the 19-point declaration the journalist *is associating* himself with the authorities' and thus breaching the conditions of IPI membership by surrendering his journalistic freedom of expression.[169] For Mochtar, the correct choice, taken by Suardi Tasrif and *Abadi*, was to close down. Tasrif admitted in the debate that, despite Mochtar's rectitude, his sympathy lay with Rosihan Anwar for the decision to sign was a matter for 'the editor and his own political conscience'.[170] Ironically, before Rosihan could present his defence to the IPI, *Pedoman* was shut down by the authorities. His temporary suspension from the IPI was ended by the Annual Assembly in June.[171]

Release and rearrest

While the Rosihan Anwar issue was being considered by the IPI, Mochtar Lubis's own situation took a dramatic turn for the better. On 29 April 1961, having been held without trial since 21 December 1956, he was released unconditionally and without official explanation. Immediately he sent a telegram to the IPI informing them and expressing his gratitude for its support.[172] On invitation, he attended the 10th annual IPI congress in Tel Aviv from 30 May to 1 June and addressed

the general assembly. He described how Asia and Africa 'were in the grip of a deadly race, a race between the construction of democracy and a totalitarian construction which would ultimately lead to the destruction of all human values as they believe in them'.[173] Mochtar blamed the threat to democracy on the spread of 'communist propaganda', and the susceptibility of national leaders to sacrifice free speech and democratic principles as they looked towards 'totalitarian systems' for models for their countries. The press 'must champion the cause of the people against the abuse of power … [For] the fire for freedom can never be suppressed'. The only way for victims to escape this suppression of democracy 'was by not yielding the smallest amount of one's principles, by not compromising'.[174] It was a passionate and resolute call to arms for the profession globally, and the Indonesian received rousing support and acclamation from the Assembly. Despite concerns for his safety by senior IPI officials who offered him a job abroad heading up the IPI's Asia Program, Mochtar was determined. 'If I do not go home to Indonesia, it would be like I was leaving the fight, my comrades, and departing from the principles for which I have struggled', he recorded in his diary.[175]

Mochtar Lubis may have been arrested as the editor of a middle-ranking Indonesian daily paper, but he addressed the IPI Assembly on his release as a spokesperson for the media workers of the emerging Third World, an ironic beneficiary of a spirit of internationalism enhanced by the Bandung Conference *Indonesia Raya* had so roundly criticised. His outspokenness again triggered a backlash. After visiting his brother Bachtar in Düsseldorf, Germany, (where he had been living in exile after joining the outer islands revolt), and correcting the draft English translation of his novel *Twilight in Jakarta* in Paris, he called in at Bangkok to meet with another exile, PSI friend Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. Hally then joined him in Singapore for a 'second honeymoon'.

On their return to Indonesia, Mochtar's passport was confiscated at the airport. He was repeatedly interrogated by the authorities about his IPI speech which was interpreted as an attack on the 'Manipol and Usdek of Sukarno'.[176] After several weeks in limbo, he was detained again on 14 July 1961. This time his detention order from the Supreme Military Authority was signed not by Minister for National Security General Nasution, who was disinclined to approve it, but by Senior Minister Djuanda. At the time the government was arresting leaders of the PSI and Masyumi parties, which had been banned the previous year for their suspected support for regional rebellions. Mochtar was to spend much of his subsequent incarceration with such detainees.

After a period held in Jakarta, on 25 January 1963 Mochtar Lubis was transferred to the Wilis Road Military Prison, Madiun, East Java. He was held there with a handful of political leaders, including Yunan Nasution, Kyai Isa Anshary, Mohammad Roem, Soebadio Sastrosatomo and other political prisoners who had opposed Sukarno, like H. J. Princen, Sultan Hamid, and Anak Agung Gde Agung. With the exception of Sjahrir, Mochtar Lubis was better known to both journalists and observers generally from the West than the two dozen other detainees held during this period.[177] Yet, politically he was far less important than party leaders

like Masyumi's Mohammad Roem and Mohammad Natsir, or the PSI's Soebadio Sastrosatomo. Mochtar represented no party, nor did he command the kind of sectional political loyalty that other detainees did. Rather he had become a symbol of a broader non-party opposition to Sukarno, of a fearlessness of spirit, and a professional dedication to journalistic principle.

The kidnapping and murder of six generals in Jakarta by a faction of the armed forces on the early morning of 1 October turned Indonesian politics on its head. Major General Suharto emerged as the strong-man re-establishing order from the political confusion, blaming the murders upon infiltration by the PKI and ultimately wresting the presidency from Sukarno. As Suharto loyalists moved against the Left, mass arrests and massacres of suspected communists ensued. On 25 October 1965, as leftist political detainees began to flood into the Madiun jail, the long-serving anti-Sukarnoist prisoners were returned to Jakarta. Aware that the political tide had turned, Mochtar Lubis waited initially in a military prison for four months. Then, from 15 February 1966, along with his fellow detainees, he was shifted to a laxly guarded detention house in Keagungan Street in the Kota area of Jakarta until his release on 17 May 1966.

Conclusion

In the early 1950s, Mochtar Lubis was a promising maverick within the newspaper industry, bringing artistic and intellectual credentials to his position as a daily newspaper editor. His award-winning Korean despatches in 1950 launched his reputation as a journalist of national standing. By 1951, he was being described in the local press as 'of international stature'.[178] His frequent trips abroad added sophistication to a man who only ten years previously had been a provincial school teacher. But, despite his criticisms of America, his explicit anticommunism ensured he was generally regarded pro-American in the Cold War polarised world. While editors who shared his ideological values admired him, this did not prevent them from being critical particularly of his tactics of challenging the government head-on, which more pragmatic colleagues regarded as counter-productive. Yet for many, Mochtar had come to personify an admirably direct, outspoken style of journalism. He was a sharp-tongued skilful polemicist with whom few chose to tangle. His style was bold, sometimes barbed, and he was immovable once he had taken a stand.

Even ideological opponents respected his preparedness to take responsibility for his statements. But many of his friendly critics from newspapers of broadly similar ideological persuasion, as well as his opponents, described him as reckless and rash, seeing his criticisms of the authorities as 'shallow' or poorly thought out. His moralistic streak and *penchant* for heroic action were seen, too often, to outrun his political judgment and sagacity. Rosihan Anwar, in the IPI debate, alluded to Mochtar's tactics as those of 'a Don Quixote at best'.[179] Some felt that he adopted this flair, because he was an individualist, with a demanding ego, who enjoyed the limelight, grandstanding heroically to an international crowd.[180] Surprised that Mochtar did not show more restraint after his release from house

arrest in April 1961, Rosihan Anwar commented 'Mochtar does not have such 'wisdom'. He wants to be a perpetual hero'.[181]

Mochtar Lubis saw himself as a crusading journalist, a champion of the non-party, independent press; *Indonesia Raya* had declared that it was 'not tied to party standpoints or those of a particular group [and] stands apart from all political parties or political streams'. But as Marbangun, the head of the Public Opinion and Press Institute, noted, in Indonesia in the 1950s there was really no such thing as an independent, non-party press since all newspapers had links, sometimes material (through secret subsidies for example), sometimes moral (through personal, family relations or ideological sympathies), with either political parties or specific interest groups.[182] Because of these influences, no paper was truly non-partisan. *Indonesia Raya* was certainly not.

4 ‘Speaking to the World’
Author and cultural figure

During his decade of detention from 1956 to 1966, Mochtar Lubis may have been isolated, but he was far from idle. While *Indonesia Raya* was still able to publish, he continued determinedly at its helm, but in its absence he simply redirected his prodigious energies more consciously into his various other interests, most prominently fiction writing. In this, he was merely maintaining habits which had developed side by side with his work as a journalist since the 1940s.

Before returning in the next chapter to Mochtar Lubis’s re-engagement with public life after his release in 1966, this chapter traces his career beyond journalism, as a literary and cultural figure, from his early writings until the commencement of the New Order. It looks at his changing profile, from his emergence in the mid-1940s as a young satirist, to his national recognition as one of Indonesia’s leading authors, ultimately achieving an international reputation as ‘writer-prisoner of conscience’. It was a role he was to play with distinction in building the key institutions of New Order artistic life and in his prominence as a national and international cultural statesman in the 1970s and 1980s. During the Sukarno presidency, Indonesia grappled with the ideological polarisation and cultural clashes that epitomised the Cold War internationally. By examining his activities, attitudes and values refracted through his fiction and reportage, we are able to locate him within the shifting cultural politics of the time. Through this period, he came to play an important role as a ‘cultural broker’ standing astride and mediating between, Indonesia and the West.

Early career

Indonesia’s most celebrated literary critic, Hans Bague Jassin, to whom many young writers submitted manuscripts for advice, was unimpressed by the first short story he read by Mochtar Lubis. Jassin had met Mochtar initially at the home of author Achdiat Karta Mihardja during the Japanese occupation when the critic was working at the government publishing house Balai Pustaka. He declined to publish the romanticised story about a young girl and her boyfriend.[1] Nevertheless, Mochtar’s literary skills were fostered during his involvement in the

weekly magazine on politics and culture, *Siasat* [Strategy], established in Jakarta in 1947. *Siasat* attracted numerous PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party) supporters to its editorial board under Rosihan Anwar and Soedjatmoko. It was Mochtar Lubis's short stories in the cultural column 'Gelanggang' [Forum, Arena] that earned him his early reputation as an author. Throughout 1949, Mochtar contributed both short stories and essays[2] while acting as an editorial assistant with 'Gelanggang', which began in March 1948, under the editorship of Chairil Anwar, Asrul Sani and Rivai Apin.[3]

Initially, Mochtar Lubis made his mark as a satirist with his short stories in *Siasat* about 'Si Jamal', a character based on an acquaintance. He published six such stories in 1948–49, and in 1950, they were collected in the book *Si Jamal dan cerita-cerita lain* [Jamal and other stories].[4] Mochtar's first novel, *Tidak Ada Esok* [There is no tomorrow], in 1950, took as its setting the struggle for independence. In fact, three of the six novels he produced are set during this period of 1945–49: his first two novels, *Tidak Ada Esok* (1950) and *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* [Road with No End](1952), and, 25 years later, his final novel, *Maut dan Cinta* [Death and love] (1977).[5] The independence struggle provided the context for much of the literature produced by the group of writers dubbed the 1945 Generation, but the Revolution appears a particularly evocative setting for Mochtar Lubis, with one literary critic observing 'Mochtar appears to have a kind of obsession with this struggle for independence'.[6]

Tidak Ada Esok is story of Lieutenant Johan, told through a complex sequence of flashbacks and time shifts, while he is fighting the Dutch forces in April 1949.[7] The bulk of the novel deals with his experiences in, and attitudes to, the Revolution. Notable are criticisms of politicians and the Islamic militia, whose credentials may be seen (in the context of the time the novel was written in 1949) to rival those of the Indonesian army. Political leaders (especially Sukarno) are depicted as squabbling for their own positions, their diplomatic negotiations with the Dutch seen to be eroding the gains made by the armed struggle. Internal division, even more than the Dutch, is presented as the main enemy of the national Independence movement. As one battalion commander, expresses it: '[this] struggle against the Dutch is really not all that hard … [What] makes the Independence struggle difficult, to a large degree, is us ourselves … We are fighting more against ourselves than opposing the enemy' (p. 150). There is criticism of certain kinds of people's militia (*lasykar*), specifically the Islamic Sabilillah which marches to battle chanting 'Allahu Akbar' [God is Great] and believes only those whose faith faltered would die (pp. 122–27).[8] A disciplined, regularised army is presented as the solution, too, to the disreputable behaviour of the 'cowboy' irregulars and the uncontrollable 'animals using the guise of the independence struggle to satisfy their own base passions' (p. 102 & 112).

Tidak Ada Esok depicts the military officers as moral exemplars. They have joined the struggle, as Johan says, primarily 'because of a calling', although partly too because they simply got caught up in something beyond themselves (p. 115). The military are the people's saviours, upon whom the weak, the women and the villagers are depicted as dependent. At the conclusion, Johan, along with

several of his comrades, dies protecting helpless village women and children, in an act of selfless heroism. The success of the independence struggle depends not so much on popular resistance but on good leadership. However, there is some questioning of the Revolution from within this military perspective. Johan's friend and commanding officer, Hassan, observes that, after the revolutionary *élan* of the early months evaporated, the troops are united more by their sense of participating in a grand collective adventure than by commitment to the principles of the Revolution. Their sense of common purpose is strengthened by bearing a collective sin; the sin of exploiting the situation for their own personal ends.

Tidak Ada Esok contains graphic descriptions of suffering and death in battle. Under enemy fire, the soldiers are: '[s]mashed to smithereens. Blood would spray the earth. Heads smashed. Breasts shattered. Legs crushed. Arms severed. Life completely destroyed. … And the skulls cracked by mortar shrapnel, the red blood soaking the shirts torn by bullets, the red flesh and white bones of the legs, the guts dangling from ripped bellies; they didn't look pretty to those who survived, who saw their friends die like that' (p. 160). A comrade, taking cover beside Johan, has 'half his head blow away by mortar shrapnel. His pulped bloodied brains oozed to the ground' (p. 220). Against the backdrop of such suffering, Johan recognises that the victory they should seek is not over the Dutch but a 'victory of human values … A human victory against each individual's own base desires. A victory of good over evil' (p. 180). Though the novel questions the image of Revolution as a glorious crusade, ultimately, officers are heroes and the Revolution is heroic.

When initially published, the novel failed to impress Jassin, who preferred the satire of Si Jamal.[9] He appreciated its nationalist symbolism but criticised what he saw as a lack of technical skill in its author and the complex series of flashbacks in the novel. He suggested that this style 'gave rise to the impression that the author was not able to describe reality realistically from within [the characters]'.[10]

Early polemics

Many of the concerns for 'human values' in society that Mochtar was working through in *Tidak Ada Esok* permeated intellectual debate of the time in Jakarta. He had earlier been drawn into examining one of the major philosophical challenges of the prewar era, the so-called 'Cultural Polemics' [*Polemik Kebudayaan*], initiated in the pages of the intellectual journal *Pujangga Baru* during the 1930s.[11] The debate was over the most prudent Indonesian stance on Western values. Mochtar's own background and education had provided a comfortable familiarity with European traditions, literature, culture and social forms, and he joined enthusiastically in the polemics. In an ongoing exchange of articles, one school of thought suspected Western influence and called for a re-emphasis of traditional values, a reassertion of spiritual strengths. The opposing argument, expressed most eloquently by Takdir Alisjahbana, advocated the selective

acquisition of Western values and dynamism in order to deal with the West on its own terms.[12]

Mochtar Lubis regarded himself as occupying the middle ground: 'At first, during the colonial time, I was quite impressed by this second view, that we just take over all these values from the West and use them against the West, but during the revolution I saw that it was really many of our traditional values [that] were a source of strength for our people at that time, rather than the Western values: the solidarity at the village base which kept the Revolution going'.[13] On 19 November 1946, an Independent Artists' Forum [*Gelanggang Seniman Merdeka*] was formed, at the instigation of bohemian poet Chairil Anwar, consciously breaking with the rather staid prewar literary traditions embodied in *Pujangga Baru*.[14] The initial editors of the *Gelanggang* [Forum] column in *Siasat* magazine were core members of this group, which later recorded its beliefs on 18 February 1950 in the *Gelanggang* Testimonial of Faith [*Surat Kepercayaan Gelanggang*], declaring that: 'We are the legitimate heirs of the culture of the whole world, a culture which is ours to extend and develop in our own way … For this Indonesian culture will be determined by the manifold responses made on our part to stimuli from every corner of the globe, each of them true to its own nature … Our results may not always be original, but our fundamental quest is humanity'.[15]

Prior to the Transfer of Sovereignty, Jassin was wary of the political ramifications of this philosophy, feeling that editors of magazines sympathetic to the *Gelanggang* group had 'unwittingly become Dutch political tools, … weakening the spirit of [anti-colonial] resistance which is rooted in nationalism' at a time when 'the Dutch are consciously fuelling this spirit of humanism precisely to aid their tactics in subjugating Indonesia again'.[16] Many nationalists were suspicious of the influence of Dutch cultural activists who were collaborating on Indonesian magazines such as *Gema Suasana* [Atmospheric Echo].[17] However, by December 1951, Jassin was using the term 'universal humanism' approvingly to describe the spirit of the *Gelanggang* declaration.[18]

During his period working with both *Gelanggang* and the cultural magazine *Mutiara*, Mochtar Lubis wrote essays identifying with the *Gelanggang* philosophy. In a *Gelanggang* essay entitled 'Hidup, Mati?' [Alive, Dead?], he defended the writers of the 1945 Generation[19] and the *Gelanggang* group. He identified himself unequivocally with the values of that group, writing '[a]lmost every member of the Generation of 1945 who has written in the *Gelanggang* column repeatedly affirmed the meanings of "human dignity".[20] For us, the term "human dignity" implies everything we are striving for. It is an idea which transcends national boundaries, an idea which embraces the whole of humanity'. The group did not seek only Independence, for that was merely 'a key to open the door onto an even broader field of endeavour, an endeavour which strides beyond the constraints of nationalism. The Generation of 1945 also wants to achieve *universal values, eternal humanitarian values*'.[21] Mochtar Lubis's idealism and lauding of human dignity was ridiculed by the poet and dramatist Asrul Sani, from the *Gelanggang*

group, who responded mockingly: 'Could Mochtar Lubis who once said "For us the term human dignity implies everything we are striving for" explain to me the meaning of the term human dignity? Or is this just an air, an empty heroic gesture …?'[22]

As his energies became increasingly absorbed in *Indonesia Raya* after December 1949, Mochtar Lubis withdrew from these particular public jousts over cultural and philosophical orientation. The polemics reflected a growing schism emerging between artists associated with *Gelanggang* and their principal opponents in the Institute of People's Culture (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*). The Institute, known as LEKRA, was founded in 1950 by D.N. Aidit, Njoto, (both leaders of the PKI) together with M.S. Ashar and A.S. Dharta.[23] During its early years, LEKRA attracted a range of writers, far beyond those sympathetic to the PKI. Figures like PSI member Achdiat Karta Mihardja and Mochtar Lubis himself attended LEKRA discussions and seminars, though neither took any active organisational role.

Regarded by LEKRA members as a *Gelanggang* sympathiser who was politically non-party but close to the PSI,[24] Mochtar was a strong individualist, cultivating a distance from the artistic groupings of the time. He was discriminating enough to distinguish between the PKI, as a political party and LEKRA, as a cultural organisation. Despite the often vitriolic clashes that occurred in the mid-1960s between LEKRA and *Gelanggang* associates, key former LEKRA members had a qualified respect for Mochtar Lubis because, although he opposed the Institute's ideology, he did not publicly damn LEKRA by linking it indiscriminately with the PKI in his frequent attacks on the party.[25] Mochtar Lubis's even-handed attitude to LEKRA may have been based on a belief, fostered by the intimacy of the Jakarta artistic community, that LEKRA artists and writers would not accept being dictated to by the PKI leadership. One LEKRA office bearer assumed 'Some of the major LEKRA figures, like Pramoedya, Henk Ngantung, Hendra, Affandi, Utuy Tatang Sontani, Rivai Apin and Basuki Resobowo, may possibly have been regarded by [Mochtar Lubis] as unable to live under PKI political power'.[26]

During the first half of the 1950s, there were cordial exchanges and interaction between the two groups, as they participated in similar activities. Symposia and conferences provided an opportunity to argue and debate. In 1951, LEKRA office bearers A.S. Dharta and M.S. Ashar joined with non-LEKRA authors, such as Achdiat K. Mihardja, to establish an Indonesian branch of the literary PEN Club of poets, playwrights, essayists and novelists, of which Mochtar became a member. A year or so later, Mochtar Lubis cooperated with LEKRA members in a Multatuli Remembrance Committee, to commemorate the author of the 1859 Dutch-language novel *Max Havelaar*, which stirred liberal Europeans against Dutch colonial practices.[27] The committee, headed by Joebaar Ajoeb, invited Mochtar Lubis and LEKRA member Boejoeng Saleh to give lectures at a gathering to recognise Multatuli's contribution to Indonesia. At a time when *Indonesia Raya*'s editorial policy was distinctly anticommunist, in artistic and cultural

affairs Mochtar willingly cooperated with LEKRA members. As he viewed it, he preferred to maintain productive communication and to keep political tensions out of art as much as possible.

Literary recognition

Mochtar's first literary work to gain him recognition as an important writer was *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* [A Road with No End], published in 1952.[28] Critics such as Jassin, Dutch literary historian Andries Teeuw, who was a colleague of Jassin's at the University of Indonesia in the 1950s, British translator of the novel Anthony H. Johns and Indonesian academic M.S. Hutagalung, all regard this work as Mochtar's most outstanding.[29] It enjoys a paramount place in the Indonesian literary ranking. Mochtar Lubis regards this work as his greatest literary achievement.[30]

Written over six months in 1952,[31] *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* focuses, even more than *Tidak Ada Esok*, on the personal mental and emotional turmoil of the characters living through the Revolution, rather than the historical events that form the background to their stories. The fighting serves only as a distant backdrop to the psychological revelation of the characters. This story highlights, not the military, but a scared, unwilling civilian caught up in an internal struggle peripheral to the national revolution surrounding him. The Revolution is not so much a specific historical event as a transcendental, 'universal' human journey, a 'road with no end' leading to a psychological release, a metaphysical rather than a national liberation.

Isa, the antihero, is a mild-mannered, fearful school teacher who is unwillingly caught up in the Revolution, because he is afraid of being branded a spy or a traitor. The Revolution has brought chaos and he is wracked by nightmares and the constant menace of all-enveloping violence. Sexual impotence has become a source of mental anguish, a cause, or perhaps a manifestation, of his marital breakdown. Hazil, a *pemuda*[32] activist and resistance organiser, draws Isa into underground activities, despite Isa's dread. After Hazil's capture, Isa is terrified awaiting his own inevitable arrest. Yet, during torture he is too scared to talk and thus unable to turn traitor. Under the rain of blows, Isa realises that everyone experiences fear and has to learn to live with it. In their shared cell, he observes Hazil's psychological disintegration through torture. Isa learns to 'be at peace with his fear' and, as his torturers approach again, he realises that 'their terror could no longer touch him. He was free'.[33]

Unlike the military figures in *Tidak Ada Esok*, the frightened Isa is swept along indecisively. He is alarmed by the denigration of both human dignity and the principles of the Independence movement by the renegades who are expropriating *de facto* control of the Revolution. A pragmatic nationalist who fears violence and disorder, Isa loves his country but does not want to die for it (pp. 60–61). Until the denouement, Isa is 'impotent', literally and figuratively, while Hazil, the man of action, controls their common destiny and even seduces Isa's wife. From the time Isa awaits arrest, however, there is a transformation in roles which

exposes the ideological constraints of the narrative. The commanding strengths of Hazil – his control over his life, his energy and self-confidence, his heroic place in the Revolution – are transferred to Isa, who overcomes his fear, as his negative characteristics are rendered positive by an authorial sleight of hand. Hazil is unable to bear the final torture and betrays his comrades while Isa's inability to speak because of his fear becomes glossed as a victory. The contemplative individual emerges from the novel as the victor by default.

Jalan Tak Ada Ujung displays the contradictions between the romantic image of the Revolution and the spirit of postwar intellectual rationalism. The novel was produced when Indonesians who had grown to adulthood fired by the works of the great romantic figures of the Independence movement – leaders like Sukarno, Hatta and Sjahrir – were becoming disillusioned by the outcomes of the physical struggle. In the novel, the antihero rejects the jingoism and glorification of the Independence struggle, but achieves a personal victory, while the young revolutionary is condemned by his own rhetoric. The reflective thinker acquires a nobility of character, while the revolutionary activist fails the test. Cautious contemplation is elevated above impetuous nationalism and militarism. It was a bold portrayal for the times.

Yet, *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* won the 1952 'best novel' prize awarded by the National Cultural Council [*Badan Musyawarat Kebudayaan Nasional*, BMKN], a government-sponsored body which brought together various partisan cultural groupings.[34] The four-man jury was headed by two leading LEKRA members: Bakri Siregar, as chairperson, and Boejoeng Saleh, as secretary, suggesting that the assessment of LEKRA members was similar to that of Jassin and his colleagues.[35] Notwithstanding the bipartisan BMKN award, *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* proved controversial, highlighting growing differences between the *Gelanggang* group and LEKRA. For sympathisers of the *Gelanggang* declaration such as Jassin (along with his protégés and foreign colleagues), the novel stands, alongside Idrus's *Surabaya* and Pramoedya's *Keluarga Gerilya* [Guerrilla Family], as a model achievement of the Generation of 1945. Such novels played a role in establishing the patterns and precedence for future literary production, to be emulated by aspiring writers drawn to the same literary traditions.

Jassin's praise was not without reservation. In 1953, he gave some credence to an accusation by Pramoedya Ananta Toer that *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* may have been plagiarised. Pramoedya claimed there was a similarity between the novel and the story line of an American-made film by French director Jean Renoir, entitled *This Land is Mine*. Although Jassin had never seen the film, he agreed that, on the basis of Pramoedya's descriptions, it appeared to be an 'adaptation' of it.[36] Mochtar denied emphatically any connection, stressing that he had never seen the film and so could not have even been 'inspired' by it.[37] Yet, the inference gained some currency. Lubis was unperturbed and continued to attract plaudits, with a short story, 'Musim Gugur' [Autumn] winning *Kisah* magazine's award for 1953.

Many of the precise qualities regarded by the universal humanists as the strengths of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* – the Freudian revelations of the psyche

of the protagonist in his dreams; the unstereotypical critical characterisation of the Independence fighters complete with all their shortcomings in a process of demythologising the revolution; the probing focus on individuals standing apart from their community – were those disliked by opponents. When political schisms developed within the artistic community at the end of the decade, LEKRA members re-emphasised their criticisms of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* as pessimistic literature, typical of the bourgeois authors of *Gelanggang*.[38] By the early 1960s, LEKRA publications were attacking 'the cynicism, intellectualism, scepticism and individualism which characterises the works of some of the 'Generation of 1945', like Idrus, Rosihan Anwar and Mochtar Lubis'.[39] For such critics Mochtar's novel had reduced the grand issues of national independence and liberation to those of personal autonomy and psychological freedom.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom

Through his wide reading and exposure to Western thought and Western company, Mochtar Lubis had grown attracted to the intellectual and literary products of the USA. He recognised a similarity between the 1945 Generation artists, with their emphasis on 'human dignity', and contemporary American writers, who were trying to awaken, what one American literary critic (quoted by Mochtar Lubis) described as, 'the dignity of the human spirit'.[40] While leftist-nationalists acknowledged Mochtar was fiercely pro-Republican in the 1940s, by the mid-1950s, his proximity to the Americans in Jakarta was viewed with some suspicion.

But he was not simply mixing with Americans in the capital; he was joining in a range of international professional and cultural organisations associated with America, as global Cold War tensions heightened. The International Press Institute, for example, which Mochtar joined in 1951, was largely the product of American initiative despite being founded in Paris and headquartered in Switzerland.[41] It campaigned vigorously for his release from detention after 1956 and regarded him as an honoured member, inviting him to address its General Assembly during his brief release in 1961.

In addition, in 1954, Mochtar joined the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), one of the most influential and controversial of the cultural organisations to emerge during the Cold War. The Congress was established in Berlin in 1950 after strong American lobbying and amidst a 'strong undercurrent of ex-communism' and a 'view of intellectuals as the vanguard of history'.[42] According to one of its most ardent American supporters, Shepard Stone of the Ford Foundation, the CCF was dedicated to 'combatting Communists' efforts among the intellectuals of Europe and Asia'.[43] There was a clear coalescence of views between the Ford Foundation and the CCF. For Ford, 'in the early days of the Cold War, the Foundation's leadership shared the concerns of the United States government regarding communism in Asia, and that Indonesia was regarded as contested territory in the confrontation between totalitarian and open societies'.[44] Those championing the Congress for Cultural Freedom judged it to be 'the West's most steadfast and effective focus of intellectual resistance to Stalin and Stalinism'

arguing it 'went on to play a significant role in exposing the true nature of Communism and the fraudulent culture that had been created in its name'.[45]

Behind the scenes, from its inception the CCF was funded by the CIA, which had a multilingual former American military intelligence officer, Michael Josselson, at its helm. The Congress, referred to by its codename QKOPERA, was approved by the CIA's Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) Project Review Board in early 1950 and funded through its intermediaries until 1966. In 1951 alone, it received approximately $US 200,000 for basic administrative costs, including salaries and office expenses; over the life of the CCF, it received tens of millions.[46] Certainly, some key participants in the inaugural Berlin conference which gave birth to the CCF were suspicious of its funding sources, and assumed US covert involvement. But it was 16 years before such rumours were exposed publicly as fact. In the meantime, Mochtar Lubis across the other side of the globe was far from this circle of *formateurs* and unaware of such internal machinations. For him, put simply, the CCF provided a forum 'where the intellectuals around the world can get together and exchange their views, know each other and discuss problems which concern all mankind … [and] look into the problems of intellectuals around the world'.[47]

From its headquarters in Paris, the CCF was active in sponsoring the publication of magazines in various languages, to promote 'cultural freedom' and debate. The best known was the English *Encounter* magazine. Of *Encounter'*s editors, critic Christopher Lasch wrote, the 'defense of "cultural freedom" was wholly entwined, in their minds, with the defense of the "free world" against communism'.[48] If Mochtar found in the organisation an international forum for the exchange of views, its critics dismissed the CCF as an American Cold War strategy to promote sympathetic cultural policies in an attempt to make 'anti-communism respectable among the intellectuals around the world'.[49] While the organisation did subsequently attempt to reach out to the intellectuals of the emerging Third World, particularly from the late 1950s, with special programs for Africa and Asia, throughout its history, the West European and American origins of the CCF exerted the major influence over its composition and ideology.

As part of the organisation's early efforts to engage Asian intellectuals, both Mochtar Lubis and Takdir Alisjahbana had been invited to attend a CCF meeting in Rangoon in 1955.[50] In assessing the published report which flowed from this 'first attempt by the Congress for Cultural Freedom to work in Asia at the inter-Asian level', political scientist Herbert Feith noted that it was 'not characterized by any facile anti-Communism; but the political objectives of the Congress for Cultural Freedom being what they are, it should not be read as *representative* Asian thinking'.[51] Nonetheless, the Indonesian participants were sufficiently impressed by the experience to establish an 'interim committee' of the CCF in Jakarta the following year. Prabhakar Padhye, the Indian secretary for Asian Affairs of the CCF, was invited to address a small meeting in Jakarta on 12 April 1956 about 'The Meaning of Freedom in Contemporary Cultural Life'.[52] No formal CCF structure was established in Indonesia, but there was a loose circle of sympathisers. Many participants in this circle, which included Soedjatmoko, Wiratmo Soekito,

journalists P.K. Ojong and Rosihan Anwar, were either members of, or inclined towards, the PSI. These individuals contributed to the ideological mix of the times by promoting a worldview broadly sympathetic to the West, circulating reading material from the CCF and attending conferences and seminars organised by the body. Such conferences, enlivened by vigorous intellectual debate, gave considerable attention in the late 1950s to the problems for democracy posed by 'authoritarianism' in Asia and Africa.

Serious interest in the CCF in Indonesia was limited to a small number of anticommunist intellectuals, but its publications may well have had considerable influence, not least in helping Indonesian intellectuals to compare their situation with other Third World countries. Ivan Kats, a Belgian-born American national who worked in the CCF's Asia Program, claimed to have been sending reading material to about 150 people in the early 1960s, motivated by his passionate conviction that 'democratic intellectuals' in Indonesia were 'utterly isolated' under Sukarno.[53] Defending the political emphasis of the CCF, Kats explained, 'it may be that some branches of the Congress for Cultural Freedom became very exclusively anticommunist but that was neither the definition or the purpose of that organisation'.[54] Yet, Indonesian critics attacked what they saw as the CCF's anticommunist bias internationally.[55] Kats, who maintained a life-long interest and association with Indonesia and its secular modernising intellectuals, also arranged scholarships for two young anti-Sukarnoists, Goenawan Mohamad and Soe Hok Djin (who later changed his name to Arief Budiman), to study in Europe around 1965. Kats sustained a long and active correspondence with them throughout this period, encouraging them to write their perspective on the unfolding cultural and political events in Indonesia, to be published abroad.[56]

For Mochtar, organisations like the CCF and the IPI provided both intellectual stimulus and, during his detention after 1956, persistent support. His orientation abroad was to such professional and intellectual organisations engaged in the clash of ideas that was the intellectual Cold War, rather than to the more sedate cultural pull of Holland which appealed to so many Dutch-educated Indonesians of his generation or older.

Fictional works

In the battle of ideas, Mochtar Lubis was engaged as both journalist and fiction writer. Both avenues had their advantages and limitations. Novel and short story reading in Indonesia remained the preserve of a minute urban elite, with print runs of fictional works rarely exceeding 5,000 copies, until the 1970s' boom in 'popular' novels.[57] By contrast, in February 1950, after only two months of production, *Indonesia Raya* claimed to have a daily print run of twice this figure.[58] The newspaper, not the novel, was the medium through which Mochtar Lubis sought to fashion public opinion. Mochtar's 'decision to devote his principal energies to journalism rather than literature was the result of careful thought and quite deliberate. He felt that in this way he could communicate to a far wider public his ideals of democracy and individual responsibility'.[59]

Mochtar continued to write short stories from time to time while working as a journalist in the 1950s, but more commonly, his notes and drafts of fictional works were only jotted down, to be expanded later in a habit he continued into the 1980s. In addition, his interest in art showed through *Indonesia Raya*, which (together with the PKI daily *Harian Rakyat*) was one of few newspapers with a regular 'cultural' page, a commitment of his respected even by LEKRA opponents.[60] In 1953, he ventured into film, writing the original story and treatment for a feature film, *Nelayan* [The fisherman], made by Indonesia's first female film director, Ratna Asmara, and produced by a company Mochtar set up with her and Wildan Djafar, who wrote the scenario. The film commenced shooting in July, with 60 per cent shot on location in Labuah, Banten, and Sahut Island, but made little impact on the market.[61] That year Mochtar also published a guide to writing film scenarios, following an earlier handbook on writing fiction, and another on writing for the press.[62]

Mochtar Lubis's final literary volume before his arrest in December 1956 was a short story collection, *Perempuan* [Woman, 1956], which won the BMKN literary prize for 1955–56.[63] Mochtar particularly liked the title story and 'Orang Gila' [The mad person].[64] 'Orang Gila', based on an actual occurrence, displays the author's concern for the poor, as he attempts to come to terms with his moral obligations and sense of guilt. On his way to work, over a number of days, the narrator observed a bedraggled woman, sitting half-naked in the street. Eventually, he approached her, offering a garment. Her erratic reactions led him to question whether such people were truly deranged or simply feigning madness to avoid the guilt and social stigma of abject poverty.[65]

The *Perempuan* collection included another well-known story which presents the author's concern for the socially disadvantaged. Like several other short stories, it was incorporated into Mochtar's next novel, *Senja di Jakarta* [Twilight in Jakarta], written during his house arrest.[66] The previously published short story 'Sepotong rokok kretek' [A clove-scented cigarette][67] opens the novel with its description of two garbage collectors savouring a few warm draughts of a *kretek* cigarette butt in lieu of the food they could not afford. Mochtar's attention in his stories to the struggles of the urban poor and his incorporation of this story into his most overtly political novel indicates his attitudes to fiction. In the debate and exchange between LEKRA and non-LEKRA artists, authors were being challenged to make their art speak about the problems of the community around them; as LEKRA distilled it, 'art for the people'. Despite his trenchant criticism of communism and wariness of LEKRA, Mochtar recognised a potential in literature to address social and political issues and demonstrated this in *Senja di Jakarta*.

While Mochtar was adamant that 'the hand of the communists was behind my arrest' and he greatly resented it when the leftist Secretary-General of the Indonesian Journalists' Association's central branch (PWI Pusat) declared that Mochtar's detention was not related to his work as a journalist and therefore the PWI would not intercede, he greatly appreciated it when a group of writers, including leading LEKRA figures Pramoedya and Boejoeng Saleh,

signed a letter to the government in February 1957 protesting his continuing detention.[68]

In August 1958, Mochtar Lubis's feisty journalistic spirit and tenacious struggle for freedom of expression in the media led to him sharing with R. McCulloch Dick, founder and publisher of *The Philippines Free Press*, the inaugural Raman Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature and Creative Communication Arts.[69] Then only 36 years old, Mochtar remains one of the youngest ever to have been honoured by the Magsaysay Foundation with what has been dubbed the 'Asian Nobel Prize'. The citation for the Award praised Mochtar's fight 'against government corruption, the violation of civil liberties by the military and against the inroads of totalitarianism in his country'. In an acceptance speech, read out on his behalf, he reiterated favourite themes since the 1940s: 'We maintain that freedom from hunger and freedom of expression are one and indivisible, that democracy, human dignity and freedom are worth fighting for. … We maintain that no nation can live by itself, but that a nation can only enrich its own life and happiness by living and working together with other nations'. Continuing detention prevented him attending the award ceremony in Manila until October 1966.

'Speaking to the world'

In December 1958, four months after the announcement of his Magsaysay Award, Mochtar Lubis began writing another novel, originally entitled *Yang Terinjak dan Melawan* [Down-trodden and resisting], during his house arrest.[70] The finished manuscript, later published as *Senja di Jakarta* [Twilight in Jakarta], contrasts sharply with both *Tidak Ada Esok* and *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* in style and subject matter and in the extent to which it treats political issues explicitly. At a time when LEKRA was coming under criticism for its call for a blending of aesthetic standards with political commitment, Mochtar was attempting to do precisely this: produce a literary work of high standard with a clear political message. Unlike *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*'s focus on the psychological quandaries of its solitary central protagonist, *Senja di Jakarta* embraces a score of characters whom readers know more from their actions than their psyche. This is no agonising, self-consciously intellectual volume but a broad political tableau in which editorialist and short story writer collaborate to damn a political system. The issues are those of abuse of political power and the need for social control. The criticisms embodied in the novel are clear and the targets unquestionable. Mochtar adopts a realist, almost journalistic, style in the novel. The reader sees easy parallels between fictional characters pilloried and actual public figures they represent. The subtlety and revelation of psychological conflicts admired in *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* by critics like Jassin have given way to a transparent crusading style. Mochtar is criticising both the party political system, and particular styles of political activity associated with Sukarno-like figures.

In November 1960, he was visited by a Danish Member of Parliament and member of the CCF, Frode Jakobsen, who took the completed manuscript

to England.[71] It was translated by Claire Holt and the drafts perused by Mochtar when he was in Europe during his brief respite from detention in 1961. *Twilight in Jakarta* became the first Indonesian novel to appear in English when, in 1963, with the support of the CCF, it was published by Hutchinson in London and by Vanguard in the United States the following year.[72] By arrangement with the publishers, the book was the first in a CCF series, 'New Voices in Translation', covering works by writers in the developing world. Its success gained for Mochtar an international reputation as a Third World writer.

The Indonesian original of *Senja di Jakarta* was not published until 1970, after editions in English, Dutch, Spanish, Korean, Italian and Malay.[73] During Mochtar Lubis's detention, some English and Malay copies were brought into the country surreptitiously, read and discussed, but the novel had little impact there. When the Indonesian edition appeared, Jassin remarked rather dismissively, 'Its story is interesting enough, showing the social conditions and political situation when Sukarno was in power … [But] unfortunately [Mochtar] has not continued his former style, as in *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*'.[74] After an unattractively presented first edition, it was not reprinted until 1981. Ironically then, for a novel written originally in Indonesian, its impact – and the praise it garnered – was far greater abroad than domestically.

Mochtar Lubis wanted to write *Senja di Jakarta* as a 'report' depicting 'the social and political conditions of our country'.[75] With the CCF's help, he succeeded in portraying his view of Indonesian political life to a wider audience for many of whom *Twilight in Jakarta* provided their first glimpse of Indonesian literature. Literary critics wrote of Mochtar's commonality with other Third World writers and described the issues dealt within the novel as common to many Third World countries.[76]

The publication of *Twilight in Jakarta* proved to Mochtar Lubis personally that he had succeeded in 'breeching the blockade of Sukarno's prison walls and speaking to the world'.[77] He had 'internationalised' Indonesian literature, much in the *Gelanggang* spirit. International support and attention provided a ready boost to his spirits and confirmed for him the correctness in his political and moral stance. Thus, he was the first Indonesian novelist to 'speak to the world', a pre-eminence only surpassed two decades later by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, whose works written during detention on Buru Island proved very popular abroad in their various translations.

Twilight in Jakarta significantly enhanced Mochtar's international prominence. Its publication dovetailed with his adoption by Amnesty International as a 'prisoner of conscience' by 1964 and with the ongoing representations made on his behalf by IPI, which took up his case with Prime Minister Nehru of India and President Macapagal of the Philippines. Other protests and declarations of support came from the International PEN Writers in Prison Committee, the International Association of Editors and Publishers, along with actions by particular newspapers like the *Philippines Herald* and national bodies like the Mexican Committee for Cultural Freedom.[78] Such protests continued throughout the detention.

The promotion of *Twilight in Jakarta* gave Mochtar Lubis the mantle of an oppressed writer, struggling under detention to produce a novel of international acclaim. The image was enhanced by prominent interpretations given to the reasons for, and conditions of, his detention. Sympathetic foreigner observers, such as the literary critic A.H. Johns (whose translation of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* made a second novel by Mochtar available to English-speakers in 1968) believed that 'Lubis was imprisoned … for his commitment to Universal Humanism – by then regarded as decadent, socially unproductive and bourgeois – and his insistence that he was first a man, a free individual and then an Indonesian'.[79]

The image was of a man punished for his literary writings. Yet, at the time of his initial arrest in 1956 and his rearrest in 1961, Mochtar Lubis's novels had caused no political reaction. It was not Mochtar Lubis the author, but Mochtar the editor, who had antagonised the authorities. Nor was the common claim accurate that the novel had been written 'from the misery and stench of a Java prison cell'; although Mochtar was in a military prison in Madiun when the book was published abroad, the novel itself had been written years earlier when he had been under house arrest in relative comfort.[80] The publication of the novel in English (and soon other international languages) provided a strategic focus for protests on his behalf. To his supporters – and for international critics targeting Sukarno or Communism in the Third World generally – Mochtar Lubis became a potent symbol of liberal democratic opposition to Sukarno and a victim of authoritarianism.

Domestic tensions and bans

While in Madiun military prison, the prisoners received news through visitors. Members of the PSI and Masyumi had party sources of information and heard of events in the upper echelon of government.[81] Moral (and some material) support was channelled to the detainees with the utmost discretion by the American Embassy in Jakarta.[82] The detainees were among those supplied with reading material, through the good offices of Ivan Kats in the CCF.[83] An informal domestic organisation of sympathisers was set up to attend to the prisoners' needs, such as bribing guards so they could leave the prison briefly every few days for sport or shopping.[84]

In August 1963, a collection of authors, artists and intellectuals, who may be regarded as the inheritors of the *Gelanggang* 'universal humanist' tradition in Indonesian literature, drew up, circulated and published a Cultural Manifesto [*Manifes Kebudayaan*],[85] which challenged LEKRA's interpretations of art. It became a *cause célèbre*, triggering vociferous polemics in both cultural magazines and national newspapers. Mochtar's prison diary records his wholehearted concurrence with its sentiments and his disappointment when some of the leading signatories tendered their apologies and retracted the document.[86]

When critics of the Manifesto pilloried and pressured the document's signatories, Mochtar Lubis's works were also attacked.[87] From August 1965, when books by (or including contributions from) signatories such as Jassin, Wiratmo Soekito and Goenawan Mohamad were banned from schools by the Department

of Education, Mochtar Lubis's books were included, together with those by other leading authors such as Takdir Alisjahbana and Idrus (then living abroad).[88] In Surabaya, police confiscated Mochtar's works along with those by signatories of the Manifesto.[89] A year prior to the August 1965 Department of Education directive, Mochtar had noted in his diary radio reports that his books were banned from circulation; yet any restrictions appear uncomprehensive since a later novel, *Tanah Gersang* [Barren Land] bearing the publication date of 1964, was not on the Department of Education's 1965 list of prohibited works.[90]

Tanah Gersang was a departure from Mochtar's previous concentration on the independence struggle or politics. Instead, it depicted the rather sleazy life of urban youth, whom Teeuw described as 'hovering between criminality and idealistic morality'. The novel follows the lives of three delinquents: Joni is the 19-year-old school-going son of a polygamous politician, while Yusuf and Sukandar are slightly older 'street smart' touts living on their wits and their seedy connections with prostitutes. Their crimes quickly ramp up from robbing a gold shop, to drowning an unwanted illegitimate baby, and eventually to the murder of two wealthy Chinese businessmen. Along the way, they dabble in gambling and enjoy copious sex, with Joni satisfying himself with both Yusuf's aunt and a young film starlet. However, when Joni is wracked by nightmares over the murders, he struggles to expiate his sins. As he is attempting to reform himself, he meets and falls in love with the starlet's virtuous younger sister, Dewi, with whom he eventually elopes. On their honeymoon, his transformation is complete and he begs God for forgiveness. Nevertheless, when he reads in the paper that Yusuf and Sukandar have been arrested for the murders, he realises that he has to pay the price for his crimes. Having declared his love for Dewi, whom he wants to spare the indignities of his past, he engineers a boating accident in which he drowns himself.

The novel made little impression in Indonesia, partly because of the time of its publication when writers such as Mochtar were being discredited by LEKRA, and when Mochtar himself was far from the public gaze in Madiun. However, it also lacked the qualities for which Mochtar's earlier fiction had been praised with neither the political bite of *Twilight in Jakarta* nor the intellectual substance of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*. Teeuw, for example, was unimpressed with the tale which he felt showed 'a tendency to moralism on the one hand, to sensationalism on the other'. Recognising the very restrictive conditions under which it was written, he concluded that 'it looks as if under the pressure of very unfavourable circumstances the weakest sides both of the journalist and of the writer Mochtar Lubis tend to combine in this literary work'.[91] Though *Tanah Gersang* was made into a feature film in 1971–72, it remains Mochtar's least praised novel.

The experience of detention

Though obviously less comfortable than his earlier home arrest, conditions in both Jakarta's Budi Utomo Military Detention Centre (RTM) and in Madiun jail were reasonably relaxed. Mochtar was a sharp observer and keen recorder of life

within the prison. His accounts of the Jakarta Detention Centre, for example, reveal his dismay at the homosexual exploitation of young boys by adult prisoners. He noted also various personal stories of the prisoners, some of which reappear in other guises in his later fiction. The family was permitted to visit, and he was free to write letters. This he did to Hally with great ardour, writing in English after a year's detention, 'Every moment with you is happiness and bliss. So much more gained to be treasured in my memories … I am feeling as freshly in love with you as ever. I think that's the magic and wonder of real love. When you love each other truly then time has no meaning, distance too loses its significance. You are in love, always in love'.[92] Theirs was an adoring and passionate relationship. Mochtar frequently dedicated his published works to her, and his prison diary and letters reveal their deep affection, despite the length of their separation. Hally was strong and determined, never wanting her husband to know of her anxieties, but it was a gravely distressing time. Their ten-year-old son, Arman (born on 25 December 1951), remembers hearing his mother quietly crying to herself at night when she thought the children were all in bed. Yet, she never let on to them or her husband how frightened and miserable she felt, always keeping up a brave and spirited exterior. Particularly infuriating for the younger son was witnessing his mother enduring the teasing of the prison warders at the Budi Utomo Military Detention Centre as they goaded or molested female visitors on the pretext of searching them on entry.[93]

Conditions in Madiun were an improvement over the Jakarta jail. Though Spartan, they did not pose any threat to life, and the political prisoners, who were men of rank and prestige, were treated with respect and consideration by their jailers. Amongst the political detainees, there was a spirit of camaraderie, punctuated only by an occasional personal disagreement, caused more by grating personalities than ill will. Having established cordial relations with their jailors – and by providing some gratuities – they were permitted to leave the prison to swim, play tennis and shop. They were even provided with criminal prisoners to act as personal servants for them, washing their clothes, preparing their food and cleaning their dishes.[94] Regular rations were poor, particularly after creeping inflation reduced the food value of their allowance, but this was supplemented by outside supplies purchased at the market or obtained from visitors. Mochtar threw himself into all kinds of activities, playing sport, teaching yoga to fellow inmates, painting with watercolours, making ceramics, wood carving and sculpture: artistic endeavours he maintained throughout his life.

Occasional home visits to family in Jakarta were allowed, and Hally and their three children – sons Indrawan and Arman, and a daughter Yana Zamira ('Ira') (born 4 September 1953) – periodically made the long and tiring journey that took most of a day and night from Jakarta to Madiun, a round trip of about 1,600 kilometres. When visiting and with the connivance of the jailers, the family were permitted to stay in the prison, enabling Mochtar to spend some precious evenings with his wife. After a three day visit with the family in Jakarta in March 1963, Mochtar extolled his appreciation for 'the most exciting and glorious hours we spent together, for your sweetness, for your love, for your graceful ways, for your

tenderness, for the lights of love in your pretty eyes, for the lovely smiles on your sweet lips, for the touch of your loveliness; for all of the intense feelings, the fires, the breaths, the whispers, the waves, the embraces of our love … I want you to know that I love you most deeply, that you are so precious to me; you are all that matters in my life'.[95] The prisoners returned from their Jakarta trip well provisioned. When the train broke down mid-way back to Madiun, Mochtar recounted in the letter, they feasted on smoked oysters, *foie de gras*, bread and fruit cocktails, all washed down with Vat 69 Scotch whisky, courtesy of PSI detainees Anak Agung Gde Agung and Soebadio Sastrosatomo!

Mochtar was able to maintain his correspondence with friends and colleagues abroad, such as Australian Rohan Rivett, IPI Director (1961–63). Mochtar appreciated the link with the outside world that such letters provided, particularly in boosting the spirits of his wife, Hally. As he wrote to Rivett in July 1965, 'God knows she needs all the encouraging which could be given to her, and your letter has done a lot of good to her heart and spirit. It is most reassuring to her to know we have such staunch friends like you'.[96] Concerned that such correspondence was monitored and censored, and that even registered post was unreliable, Hally would arrange for letters to be despatched and received via trusted friends who travelled overseas.[97] Such friends would also help by supplying books, vitamins, medicines, hobby materials and other requested items, including clothing for the Lubis children. In April, Hally sent the Rivetts a revealing small black-and-white photo of the Lubis family, seated just outside Mochtar's cell during a visit to celebrate the end of the Muslim fasting month. Their collective gaze is resolute and fixed: Hally in traditional Sundanese dress, but unadorned is in the centre of the shot; Mochtar kneeling at her side; Iwan at 18, looking lanky like his Dad, drops his gaze; Arman, 13, kneels adjacent to his father, striking an identical posture; and Ira, 11, stern and unsmiling in a smart checked frock. It is a family, grim, steeled and determined.

Financially, the family augmented Mochtar's modest income, generated by translations and children's stories published under pseudonyms, with rental from a house they owned in the mountain retreat of Tugu, for which friend and sympathizer American film importer Bill Palmer paid in US dollars.[98] Nonetheless, it remained a very difficult time for the families as well as for the detainees. As Hally confessed in a letter on 5 September 1965 to Rivett, 'I do not sound like the girl Mochtar is very proud of, I am not courageous at all. To tell you the truth, Rohan, I am afraid of the way things are going on here'. Her apprehensions were prescient, given the events which were to unfold in Jakarta in the closing hours of that September.

Life for the family left behind in Jakarta had a variety of difficulties. The sons recall being teased by schoolmates because of the stigma of having a father under arrest, something they learned to counter with pride in their father's reputation and courage. Having got used to Mochtar's strict parenting, and especially his displeasure should they perform poorly at school, the children came to appreciate their father's resolute principles. They responded with pride not embarrassment at the punishment he was receiving. They were conscious too

of his deep nationalism; he had forbidden the children from learning Dutch and objected to their incorporation of Dutch phrases into their Indonesian speech. While Mochtar's mother, who lived with Hally and the grandchildren during Mochtar's detention, continued to use her regional language of Mandailing with her children, Mochtar, a 'linguistic nationalist', used Indonesian rather than Mandailing even with his mother or siblings.[99]

In March 1966, Mochtar informed Rivett, 'After repeated protests [about sharing a prison with communist prisoners 'some of them the murderers of the generals'], we were moved from the military prison on February 12 to a house in Keagungan Street in Downtown Djakarta. All Soekarno's political prisoners are now here, twenty-six of us, ex prime ministers, ex foreign ministers, ex-members of parliament, ex-colonels' – and though he does not mention it – one rebel journalist![100] Along with other items, this letter was sent to Rivett through the good offices of Australian Ambassador in Jakarta, K.C.O. Shann, who had taken a personal interest in Mochtar's case and acted as conduit through which the detainee was able to correspond with Rivett.[101]

When he emerged from jail, as one of Indonesia's best known journalists and authors internationally, Mochtar Lubis was counted amongst the country's most pre-eminent artistic figures – a status enhanced by the fact that his rivals on the Left had been swept from the public arena, murdered, imprisoned, or driven underground. LEKRA had been banned with the PKI in March 1966, its membership decimated. Before his arrest, Mochtar had already staked his claim as one of the young nation's most acclaimed novelists and short story writers. He then transformed the nine and a half years in detention into his most prolific literary period. Using the pseudonym 'Lesmana', he completed a string of translations of children's stories by American author Laura Ingalls Wilder, the royalties from which supplemented other income.[102] Under his own name, he published short stories in magazines such as *Siasat Baru* [New Strategy].[103] He kept a very detailed prison diary, including poems and ideas for future works, which he smuggled out of detention (and subsequently serialised in *Indonesia Raya* and published, slightly abridged, as a book, *Catatan Subversif* [Subversive Notes] in 1980).[104] He published two novels, with *Twilight in Jakarta* attracting international attention, and prepared drafts for two other novels, which were to be polished and published after his release. Both through his literature, the networks of like-minded friends and colleagues, and with the support of various diplomats, intermediaries and international institutions, Mochtar had managed to survive – even thrive – during his incarceration. In his terms, he had indeed succeeded in 'speaking to the world'.

Part III

The Suharto period

5 The 'golden boy of the New Order'

Indonesia Raya re-established

The political turbulence which seeped into all aspects of life in Jakarta during the heady months after 1 October 1965 brought a new excitement into the lives of Mochtar Lubis and his fellow political prisoners. Once they had been moved from the Jakarta Military Detention Centre (RTM) to their 'safe house' in Keagungan Street, Kota, on 15 February 1966, frequent visitors kept them informed about the rapid flow of events in the capital. Families were able to visit virtually any time. At home, too, Hally was visited by friends such as the CCF's Ivan Kats and journalists like Australian Bruce Grant, keen for information about Mochtar. Held in relaxed conditions, detainees took liberal advantage of an occasionally unguarded rear exit to slip away briefly into the surrounding kampungs to observe demonstrations in the city.[1] Mochtar wrote to Rohan Rivett with great pride of 'the fervour of self-sacrifice of the students' challenging the *status quo*. 'Even my second son, Ade, who is fourteen, joined in the demonstrations at the Foreign Ministry, and proudly showed his kid-sister a patch of cloth he took from the building', he recounted.[2] The incident inspired him compose a poem, 'Tear Gas', one of several in his diary.[3]

The internees greeted the news of Sukarno's transfer of authority to General Suharto on 11 March, and the subsequent banning of the PKI, with gusto, tempered a month later by Sjahrir's death on 10 April, while in Zurich for medical treatment.[4] When permitted to pay last respects with a visit to Sjahrir's family on the day of his funeral on 19 April, Mochtar was interviewed by foreign and local press. The prisoners were greeted with fanfare by activists from KAMI and KAPPI (respectively the university and high school students' Action Fronts) as they drove through the streets.[5]

Young student leaders began to call on Mochtar and his associates to discuss the turbulent political situation, seeking inspirational heroes in their crusade to oust the President. In the officer corps, they found them in various militant anti-Sukarnoists, like Brigadier General Kemal Idris, then chief of staff of Kostrad [Army Strategic Reserve Command] and former Siliwangi commander Major General H.R. Dharsono.[6] Among civilians, student leaders, such as the brothers Soe Hok Gie and Soe Hok Djin (later known as Arief Budiman), were attracted to Mochtar Lubis for his outspokenness, his principle and his unshakable opposition to Sukarno. But Mochtar's diary reveals his reluctance to accept the heroic

mantle, conscious that the students would inevitably be disillusioned by their heroes.[7]

The detainees believed their release was imminent, but nonetheless dependent upon Suharto, and the shifting fortunes of their anti-Sukarnoist compatriots. Foreign policy considerations were important for a government looking for Western economic help. During April and May, overtures to end Sukarno's policy of confrontation with Malaysia, with Adam Malik leaving for negotiations in late May, were a tangible sign of foreign policy reorientation. The release of the long-serving anti-Communist detainees was a further demonstration of change in the same direction.[8] Mochtar Lubis was released (into 'town arrest') on 17 May 1966. His obligation to report every Monday to the Attorney-General's Department, was interpreted laxly.[9]

Return to public life

As he wrote to his friend Rohan Rivett on 27 June 1966 recounting the joys and challenges of his release: 'There is so much to do, so much to repair and to build anew in all fields of our national life. And as … I see it one of the most immediate needs is to establish a strong, fearless, independent press, which must help establish traditions for a democratic life, the respect for the rule of law, social disciplines and responsibility, the respect for human rights and freedoms'.[10] With Rivett's support he set out to try to obtain from colleagues abroad the printing plant and equipment he would need to revive *Indonesia Raya*, busying himself in the meantime with immediate political developments.

Mochtar Lubis began enthusiastically catching up on news, meeting with friends, such as Adam Malik, and receiving scores of well-wishers. A sought-after public speaker, he was invited to the universities to address students, and embraced by the anti-Sukarno radicals of Jakarta and Bandung, the two cities spearheading the movement. His association with PSI-oriented officers in the Siliwangi Division traced back to the mid-1940s, and PSI-leaning student groups in Bandung and Jakarta provided an obvious constituency.

Among the activists drawn to Mochtar were a group who had been involved in an underground anti-Sukarno Movement for the Renewal of Indonesia [*Gerakan Pembaharuan Indonesia*, GPI], established in 1961 by one-time PSI leader and later PRRI leader, Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, then in exile. When the PSI community polarised over tactics in opposing Sukarno, the GPI followed Sumitro's outright resistance rather than the softer Soedjatmoko line of partial acceptance while gradually countering from within. While underground, the organisation had an elaborate cell structure, linked to the Mobile Headquarters which relocated variously in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong, Zurich and London (depending primarily on where Sumitro was).[11] GPI members tended to be pro-PRRI/Permesta, under 30 years old, with disproportionate numbers of Menadonese and other non-Javanese. More than half of the members were estimated by one participant to have had PSI sympathies, although they were disillusioned with the PSI leaders that had accepted the party ban in August 1960.[12]

The cell structure and use of personal code names kept members' identities secret, even from others in the network. Very few members have been publicly identified. One was Soe Hok Gie, who was among the first student leaders to contact Mochtar Lubis in jail. He was in one of five GPI cells in Jakarta, and had been tasked with 'penetration and infiltration' of intellectual circles.[13] Later, after Sumitro's return in mid-1967, Mochtar took a leading part in the group's activities.[14] He later described the movement as 'not a formal organisation. We were simply united by an idea. We wanted to see Indonesia progress and become democratic, respecting human rights, with social justice and a strong economy'.[15] But Mochtar's connections with the anti-Sukarno movement extended far beyond this small GPI network.

In addition to occasional contributions to cautious prestige papers, such as the Catholic *Kompas* [Compass] (to which he had smuggled out articles from Keagungan Street published under the by-line 'Mochtar') and the Protestant *Sinar Harapan* [Ray of Hope], Mochtar was closely associated with two student-oriented publications which began to appear in June 1966: the Bandung edition of *Mahasiswa Indonesia* [Indonesian Student] and Jakarta's *Harian KAMI* [KAMI Daily]. The Bandung students, and their weekly, *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, had a more radical reputation than their capital city KAMI compatriots who published *Harian KAMI* daily.[16]

When *Mahasiswa Indonesia* published its first edition in Bandung on 19 June, Mochtar Lubis's name stood out from the list of KAMI student radicals, such as Rahman Tolleng (the main organiser behind the paper), Soe Hok Gie and Yozar Anwar (Rosihan Anwar's brother), who made up the editorial staff. He was not particularly active but provided moral support and contributed occasional articles until at least November 1970. Most influential in the paper were former members or sympathisers of the Socialist Students' Movement [*Gerakan Mahasiswa Sosialis*, Gemsos], a small group officially non-aligned, but in practice regarded as a PSI satelite.[17] Rahman Tolleng had been a Gemsos member and a GPI sympathiser, and *Mahasiswa Indonesia* was the mouthpiece of the 'Bandung radicals' around him, linked with Dharsono and Kemal Idris. These civilian and Siliwangi radicals acted as pacemakers pressuring Suharto for 'de-Sukarnoisation'. For example, during the June 1966 session of the paramount Provisional People's Consultative Assembly [MPRS], *Mahasiswa Indonesia* disapproved of Suharto's moderate line and pushed for Sukarno to be tried.[18]

Seen as a 'civilian radical', Mochtar was keen to force the pace of political change. As he later explained, when, within two months of his release, student activists inquired about his interest in the position of Minister of Information (an overture he believed to emanate from someone close to Suharto), he recommended instead that the entire Information Department be dismantled as part of government restructuring![19] He warmly greeted the recommendations of an Army Staff and Command College (SESKOAD) seminar in Bandung in August 1966, to 'build a new order and wipe out the old order entirely'.[20] Neither Mochtar nor the army showed enthusiasm for general elections, then scheduled for July 1968, or for the old political parties. Mochtar applauded the seminar's

proposals for extensive reform of the party and electoral systems. He supported the proposed 'district system', or system of single-member constituencies, whereby electors could vote, not for a party which had determined its list of candidates for each province, but for their preferred individual candidate, who would be directly responsible to the local community.[21] He endorsed the seminar's call for a 'new national leadership' to end 'dualism in leadership' (an allusion to the uncertain balance between Sukarno and Suharto). He was impatient that change was only coming with 'the pace of a horse-cart'! For him, 'the faster, the better'.

He expressed such sentiments throughout 1966–68, in contributions to *Harian KAMI*. His occasional column, 'Now and Tomorrow', ranged from his reflections about current and past politics, to reports of his domestic and overseas trips. The staffers of the paper, including Nono Anwar Makarim, Fikri Jufri and Goenawan Mohamad, who were to become leading journalists, greatly respected Mochtar. When, in September 1966, while still technically under 'town arrest', he was refused permission to travel to Manila to receive the 1958 Magsaysay Award, *Harian KAMI* journalists joined other KAMI members, artists and human rights activists to protest publicly.[22] However, some young admirers were disappointed with the lack of fire in his articles.[23]

Trials in September and October 1966 sentencing to death Sukarno's former senior ministers, Jusuf Muda Dalam and Soebandrio, for subversion and complicity in the coup attempt, raised the political temperature. Suharto had been moving to replace key Sukarno supporters within the army since March, but he was keen to avoid exacerbating the alarm felt by opponents, in the Armed Forces or the political parties like the PNI, by being seen to favour anti-Sukarno militants. In that climate, Mochtar had to wait till November for travel restrictions to be dropped. After receiving the Magsaysay Award in Manila, he went, via Tokyo, to the IPI General Assembly in New Delhi, before visiting Europe.[24]

In March 1967, a special session of the MPRS appointed Suharto Acting President and temporarily banned Sukarno from political activity.[25] Suharto and his group increased manoeuvres to excise pro-Sukarno elements from the army.[26] By November 1967, in a move designed to weaken the hold of established parties, an 'Independent Group' of non-party civilian intellectuals keen to work with the military, had coalesced around Dr Umar Kayam, author, academic and Director-General of Radio and Television.[27] Mochtar Lubis was associated with Umar Kayam in various projects, such as the literary magazine, *Horison*. Not surprisingly the journalist, who had long supported the international intellectual network, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, felt the idea of the 'non-aligned' intellectual group in Indonesia had merit, and was eager that a military-civilian partnership purge the government of what he had earlier called old 'mental attitudes'.[28] The Independent Group, which included other colleagues of Mochtar, like the PSI intellectual Soedjatmoko, human rights lawyer Adnan Buyung Nasution and psychologist Fuad Hassan, was strongly promoted by army 'New Order radicals' like Dharsono.

After removing Sukarnoists in the military and the political parties prior to the March 1968 MPRS session, the Suharto group turned its attention to suppressing student radicals who were urging Suharto for greater reforms, such as

the purging of corrupt officers from the government. The army cracked down on civilian protests, and the MPRS elevated Suharto to full President. The June 1968 cabinet confirmed the important role of various American-trained economists, later dubbed the 'Berkeley Mafia', who had been Suharto's key advisers on economic policy since 1966; included as Minister of Trade was Professor Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, who had by now become Mochtar's business partner.[29]

Prior to his release, Mochtar had accepted as inevitable at least ten years of military rule, since 'there is, indeed, no other leadership'.[30] During the first two years of the New Order, which he described later as the only period of 'real democracy',

> I gave full support to Suharto's government … I accepted the statements of intent of these people for our nation so I supported them because they [said] they want to correct all the mistakes, the fatal mistakes under Sukarno. They want to develop democracy in Indonesia … build welfare for the people, … social justice and political justice'.[31]

Mochtar was an enthusiastic believer in the espoused goals of the Suharto group to institute a manageable political system freed from leftist agitation, to remove Sukarno and run a less heavily regulated economy, under the guidance of Western-trained economists, respected by the International Monetary Fund.[32]

Mochtar Lubis staunchly supported a plan proposed by Dharsono for a two-party system based on mandates from local electorates.[33] When Dharsono and his military colleagues tried to implement a variant of their preferred two-party electoral system within West Java's local assemblies early in 1969, Suharto crushed the militants' challenge to his authority removing Dharsono with an ambassadorial appointment to Thailand. Having purged the New Order militants, as Crouch states, the remaining officers upon whom Suharto depended, shared his interest in 'stabilizing the existing system', and had 'little vision of a really 'New Order' for Indonesia'.[34] As Suharto neutralised those military officers whom Mochtar trusted, Mochtar revised his attitude to a military government. In March 1969, while at a Press Foundation of Asia seminar in Hong Kong, Mochtar reportedly expressed the hope that, within three years, Indonesia would 'organise its government according to the United States of America model, based on parliamentary democracy'. Although the Armed Forces still held power, he believed over-optimistically 'they realise that Indonesia has to return to a genuine civilian democratic form of government'.[35]

In talking much later about those early years after his release, Mochtar laughingly recalled he had been treated like 'the Golden Boy of the New Order'.[36] Long out of circulation and lacking a power base, he was not an important political actor in this period, but his good name overseas was an asset to the emerging 'New Order'. He was politically untarnished, with impeccable democratic credentials acceptable to the West and admired in intellectual and professional circles in other parts of Asia. To such observers, he appeared a democrat who might temper military influence in government. Suharto was seeking international legitimacy,

partly to encourage foreign aid and investment, but also to reinforce domestic legitimacy. That an internationally well-known anti-Sukarnoist like Mochtar Lubis endorsed the New Order enhanced its image in the eyes of Japan and the Western nations which, in February 1967, had established the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia to reschedule Indonesia's overseas debt and provide aid. Civilians like Mochtar Lubis were a reassurance to Western observers of Indonesia who had come to see the Indonesian army, with its reputation for bureaucratic inertia, inefficiency and corruption, as an obstacle to, rather than a promoter of, democracy. In this, he was similar to the 'Berkeley mafia' who became principal architects of the government's economic policies: he symbolised principle, pragmatism and professionalism.

Mochtar Lubis was also the 'golden boy' of the foreign press. In reporting the release of the political prisoners, the Western press gave Mochtar coverage equal to, if not greater than, that given to party leaders with large national followings. The IPI trumpeted his release with front-page reports and articles about IPI efforts to assist in the re-establishment of *Indonesia Raya*. He was introduced to the 1966 IPI General Assembly as 'IPI's most illustrious member'.[37] His home became a frequent – virtually obligatory – port of call for Western journalists.

At a time when Indonesian foreign policy was shifting its 'first priority' to 'the creation of regional stability and cooperation',[38] symbolised by the establishment of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) in August 1967, Mochtar functioned well as a Southeast Asian intellectual. The month ASEAN was founded, the Press Foundation of Asia, in which Mochtar was to be heavily involved, was established in Manila with a pledge to 'uphold the legacies of the Asian Programme of IPI'.[39] When Mochtar made 'a triumphant visit to Manila' in 1968 to be 'greeted like a hero by his friends in the press and received by President Ferdinand Marcos', the PFA's founder Amitabha Chowdhury seized the opportunity to enlist him in the organisation.[40] Supporters in the Philippines had donated an eight-unit rotary printing press to enable Mochtar to reopen *Indonesia Raya*, and Chowdhury had found funds to transport it to Indonesia. Such support demonstrated Mochtar's good regional connections, through organisations like the CCF, the IPI and the PFA, with writers, journalists and intellectuals, particularly in the Philippines and Thailand, the two ASEAN states most subject to US influence.

Locating Mochtar Lubis within the shifting politics of 1967–69 highlights his contrasting links with power and influence on government. Many of his closest connections were with New Order militants, such as Dharsono, whose early ascendancy was eclipsed by 1969. Yet, he had important friends in the concentric circles radiating out from Suharto's Cendana Street residence. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, with whom Mochtar started a business in 1967, was in Cabinet. Adam Malik – Mochtar's former boss in ANTARA who, according to a former CIA officer in Jakarta, had been 'recruited' by the Agency which provided some funding for the military's move against the Left – remained one of the most influential civilians of the New Order, chiefly as foreign minister till 1977, and subsequently as Vice President.[41] Mochtar retained a warm relationship with Adam Malik, who assisted when Mochtar re-established *Indonesia Raya*

in October 1968.[42] When questioned in 1981, Mochtar declined to specify who provided the capital for the paper, saying only that some were either in, or very close to, government. He firmly denied there was any direct military involvement in the re-establishment of *Indonesia Raya* and told his editorial colleagues simply that such funds were from unnamed 'friends'. Mochtar's brothers, then established businessmen in the motor car industry, were assumed by some staff to be potential contributors. Some assistance was given by other business colleagues.[43]

Business ventures

On his release, Mochtar wrote in his prison diary, 'I leave detention with my pockets absolutely empty. All my savings have gone'.[44] Nine years without fixed income had placed an enormous strain upon the family, despite the generous support of friends and the regular rental they received from the Tugu house and land. While he was committed to re-establishing *Indonesia Raya* he needed financial security. Before relaunching the paper, Mochtar embarked upon various businesses outside the media. The economy was regenerating, opening up to foreign capital, encouraged by the generous terms of the 1967 Basic Law on Foreign Investments. Foreign entrepreneurs were looking for reliable Indonesian partners with a reputation for honesty and efficiency.[45]

Mochtar Lubis's businesses tended to be associated with foreign – often American – companies. In July 1967, he joined with Sumitro Djojohadikusumo to establish Indoconsult Associates, the first business consultancy firm of its kind in Indonesia. The human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, son of a close colleague of Mochtar's in Antara during the independence struggle, was impressed by the venture and the partners' kindness towards the struggling activist. 'The consultancy office ran smoothly and generated good income. I regarded the office, located in the Gambir district, as really impressive. It used modern methods, with a secretary, air-conditioning, luxurious for the standards of that period. I was very attracted to it and often dropped in to chat and exchange thoughts with [Sumitro] and Mochtar Lubis. I was even given an 'envelope' [with money], help from Mochtar, because I did not have any income'.[46] Such young activists greatly admired both Sumitro and Mochtar, regarded as hard-liners who had taken an uncompromising stand against Sukarno, Mochtar going to prison, Sumitro going into exile. However, soon after establishing Indoconsult, in June 1968, Sumitro was elevated to Trade Minister in Suharto's first cabinet, and consequently had little time to devote to their consultancy. While some critics felt this proximity to power may have favoured Mochtar's business prospects, according to other observers Indoconsult's reputation 'started to suffer, because Mochtar Lubis seemed not particularly capable of managing it'.[47]

The two men continued to share a friendship that extended beyond business into their personal and family lives. In 1967, for example, Sumitro assisted Mochtar to place his son Iwan in a position with Bankers Trust in New York where the young man spent two and a half years as a management trainee. Of all the children, it was Iwan who most closely followed his father's involvement in the media, although

even for Iwan it was not as a crusading journalist but in media management. After a year back working with *Indonesia Raya* in 1972, Iwan was abroad again, spending a year with the *Straits Times* in Malaysia learning printing management. A stint in London on a British Council scholarship followed, studying newspaper business management. Family expectations that he would return to play a role in the financial management of *Indonesia Raya* were dashed with the banning of the paper in 1974 after which Iwan returned to Jakarta. But the 'stigma' of being the son of Mochtar Lubis presented unique problems when seeking work in the media, and he gravitated elsewhere.[48]

For Mochtar, however, Indoconsult was but the first in a string of business ventures, several of which were partnerships with colourful American characters, long resident in Asia. In January 1968, he started a Philippine-Indonesian joint venture, PT Sumatra International Timber Company. His partner was Dr Albert V. Ravenholt, a former United Press war correspondent who had reported from China, India and Southeast Asia, but was at this time working with the American Universities Field Staff.[49] Ravenholt shared both Mochtar's experience as a journalist and admiration for the late Philippines President Ramon Magsaysay. His wife, Majorie, who had served during the war in China for the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency, and subsequently worked for *Life* magazine, spent three decades with the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation, funded by the Rockefeller family.[50]

In 1969, Mochtar joined with other friends, including another American, David F. Fowler, to establish an air charter company, PT Safari Air, in the hope of gaining additional American partners.[51] When US cooperation fell through, they joined with a Canberra-based company, Airfast Services Pty. Ltd, to form PT Airfast Services Indonesia. Mochtar Lubis was on the board of directors of both Safari Air and Airfast.[52] Fowler was one of the most colourful foreign adventurers to have been drawn into the Indonesian struggle for independence. Born in Texas in 1918, he trained as an airplane mechanic and pilot, before spending the Second World War flying around the Pacific, Australia and Southeast Asia. He was wounded on Biak Island, West Papua. After the war, while working as a pilot for Pacific Overseas Airways, Siam Limited (POAS), based in Bangkok, he penetrated the Dutch blockades of the fledgling Indonesian Republic flying 12 highly dangerous missions across the lines of control in Douglas DC-3 and DC-4 transport aircraft. His flights helped finance the Republic by transporting Indonesian gold and silver to Hong Kong banks. After the Transfer of Sovereignty he assisted setting up Indonesia's police Air Wing. An anticommunist and anti-Sukarnoist, he left Indonesia during the height of Sukarno's presidency, but returned in 1966, establishing Zamrud Air Services, and later, Safari Air Services. In the mid-1970s, he left Indonesia eventually returning to Texas.

In stark contrast to his apparent lack of interest in mainstream commercial businesses during the 1950s, Mochtar continued to diversify his business portfolio, moving into advertising, again joining with foreign interests. In May 1970, Mochtar established PT Fortune Indonesia Advertising of which he was the President-Director. One of the country's pioneering advertising firms, it had a

management agreement with Fortune (Australia) Pty Ltd. Through this link, it tapped into the giant transnational DSF-Dorland-Fortune Advertising consortium, one of the largest players in the international advertising industry.[53] The impetus for establishing Fortune Indonesia apparently came when Mochtar was approached by C.K. Landell-Jones, from Fortune International in Australia, who was interested in extending the service network for customer Cathay Pacific into Southeast Asia.[54] On the basis of the successful marketing of Cathay Pacific, Fortune Indonesia then expanded its client list to include Bintang Beer, Gold Bond cigarettes, Trakindo Utama heavy machinery, Repco Automotive Spare Parts, Kartika Plaza Hotel and Philips electrics. Mochtar's colleagues and staff from that period – when the staff numbered around 40 – remembered him as a thoughtful, rather cautious, and analytical leader whose grasp of the political, economic and societal influences upon advertising were strong.

While Mochtar hoped such business activities would generate income without placing heavy demands on his time, he was often drawn into time-consuming negotiations when a business got into difficulties. His timber company, for example, got embroiled in a dispute with locals who encroached on the concession. After about four years Mochtar left the company. Airfast struck problems when a levelling off of the oil boom caused liquidity problems, and consequent tensions between the Australian and Indonesian partners. Indoconsult was drawn into several complicated commercial disputes.[55]

Apart from his businesses, Mochtar divided his time between other activities in Indonesia and abroad where he frequently participated in conferences on culture, literature, politics and the press. In 1968, for example, he spent four months on a Jefferson Fellowship at the East-West Center, Honolulu.[56] His trips abroad were often described in articles in *Indonesia Raya*.[57] Pursuing his long-standing interest in film, he went to Lake Toba, Sumatra, in December 1971, for the filming of his novel, *Tanah Gersang* [Barren Land].[58] All these commitments proved distractions from his role as editor of *Indonesia Raya*.

The New Order and the press

Within months of 1 October 1965, 46 of Indonesia's 163 papers were banned indefinitely because of their presumed association with, or sympathy for, the PKI and its allies.[59] Many staff were arrested. Leftists in the Indonesian Journalists' Association (PWI) and ANTARA were expelled. The PWI formalised the expulsions in a hastily organised extraordinary congress on 4–7 November 1965 led by NU anti-Communist activist H. Mahbub Djunaedi.[60] ANTARA was placed under Suharto-appointee, Colonel Noor Nasution, who purged the organisation. Of the editorial staff, about 100 were arrested. Of 12 people on the National Affairs desk, regarded as a leftist stronghold, only two remained.[61] Such targeting of communist and sympathising journalists, alongside large-scale massacres in the countryside, severely perverted the development of the Indonesian press.

The government issued obligatory dual printing and publishing permits[62] to papers such as *Harian KAMI* and *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, whose anti-PKI and

anti-Sukarno posture supported the army leaders gaining power. Protected by military allies or by adjusting to the new politics some pro-Sukarno papers continued for a period. Notably critical of the Suharto group was *El Bahar* [The Sea],[63] established by influential protectors in and close to the navy in September 1966.[64] But generally, in the words of an *Indonesia Raya* editor, Enggak Bahau'ddin, the press sought to be a 'good partner in accelerating development'.[65]

The closing months of 1968 saw the re-emergence of several papers associated with the urban intellectual opposition to Sukarno which had been closed in the period 1958–61. It had been an articulate slice of the opposition which found sympathy and support from American and West European liberals, and which had sympathisers amongst New Order 'militants' in the officer corps. Approaches by Mochtar Lubis and others to the Finance Minister resulted in Bank Indonesia agreeing to provide loans for the reopening of certain papers, including *Indonesia Raya*, which received 'substantial' funds.[66] After delays in getting approval when B.M. Diah was Minister of Information (July 1966 – June 1968), Mochtar Lubis was granted the obligatory publishing permit (SIT) on 24 July 1968 by the incoming Minister, Air Vice Marshal Boediardjo, and on 10 August the essential printing permit (SIC) from the Jakarta Commander of *Kopkamtib*, the all-powerful Command for the Restoration of Security and Order.[67] Back in the hands of Mochtar Lubis after the internal schism in late 1958, *Indonesia Raya* appeared on 30 October, soon followed by *Pedoman* (29 November) and *Abadi* (7 December) dailies, formerly associated with the (still officially illegal) PSI and Masyumi parties respectively. The revival of such papers reflected the influence of groups which argued for the continued need to do battle with Sukarnoism as well as the continuing importance of a liberal image in Western countries.

At the end of 1968, prominent on the Jakarta daily press landscape were six (partially overlapping) newspaper types.[68] *Indonesia Raya*, *Pedoman* (and to some extent, *Abadi*) joined the New Order radical press, whose pace-setters included *Nusantara* [Archipelago], *Harian KAMI*, and other small student papers.[69] Secondly, there were the prestige journals, notably the moderate Protestant *Sinar Harapan* [Ray of Hope] (1961)[70] and Catholic *Kompas* [Compass] (1965), comparable to *Keng Po* and its successor *Pos Indonesia* [Indonesian Post] both banned during Guided Democracy. These Christian papers were politically cautious, with high circulation. Thirdly, the army had two organs: *Berita Yudha* [Military News] (1965) and *Angkatan Bersenjata* [Armed Forces] (1965).[71] Fourthly, the radical nationalists had *El Bahar*[72] and *Merdeka* (1945); and the PNI flagship, *Suluh Indonesia* [Indonesian Torch] (established 1953, then banned in October 1965), was eventually replaced by a new daily, *Suluh Marhaen* [Marhaen Torch].[73] Muslim views were reflected in newspapers like *Abadi, Jihad* [Holy War] and NU's *Duta Masyarakat* [Society's Ambassador] (which closed in 1969 after virtually continuous publication since 1954).[74] Popular-style, 'a-political', 'entertainment' papers completed the picture, with the most successful being *Pos Kota* [City Post] after 1970. As an indication of the relative market position of these publications, in June 1970, the big four Jakarta dailies were *Merdeka* (82,000),

Kompas and *Berita Yudha* (each 75,000) and *Sinar Harapan* (65,000), ahead of *Indonesia Raya* (40,000), *Angkatan Bersenjata* (35,000), *Pedoman* (25,000), *Suluh Marhaen* and *Abadi* (each 20,000), with others selling less than 20,000.[75]

The majority of these publications were broadly secular. Even for those known to be associated with particular faiths (such as *Sinar Harapan* or *Kompas*), their political line was not dictated by narrow sectional religious interests, but was liberal and secular. Some such as the Islamic *Duta Masyarakat* were more explicitly religious, appealing to a particular community of faith, but such publications were in the minority, both in terms of their number and their total circulation figures. Given the elimination of leftist publications, and the New Order's wariness of politicised Islam, print media tended to reflect the common ground. Yet, it was a boisterous and combative ground with heated debates and polemics over particular policies between publications of different political hues. Within the broad anticommunist, secular ideology, and the espoused 'modernising' ethos which dominated both the incoming regime and the media, figures like Mochtar Lubis – and his ideological compatriots like *Pedoman*'s Rosihan Anwar, *Kompas*' P.K. Ojong, even *Merdeka*'s B.M. Diah – exerted a strong influence upon the values and practices of the journalistic profession. People within the media might not have necessarily agreed with what was said by role models like Mochtar, but there was a deep respect for the editor, across much of the industry. When Mochtar finally recommenced his newspaper he brought to it substantial political and moral capital, in the face of substantial public expectations.

The second series of *Indonesia Raya*

On its publishing permit, *Indonesia Raya* was officially 'independent' of any political party or group. On 30 October 1968, the revived *Indonesia Raya*'s first editorial declared its full support for the Suharto government's policies of anti-Communism and economic development. Mochtar's editorial stressed the need for national social discipline, responsibility, and hard work, a 'rational approach to problem solving', a 'balanced view of the world', the broadening of sectional loyalties to embrace national goals, and a continued campaign against corruption.[76] But qualifying such loyalty to the Suharto government were assertions that the paper would criticise, constructively, when necessary.

To re-establish *Indonesia Raya* Mochtar reassembled the leading staff members from 1957: Kustiniyati Mochtar, D.H. Assegaff, Enggak Bahau'ddin, Mohamadnoer, K. Sidharta and Sam Soeharto.[77] Atmakusumah, who was working for ANTARA after a stint with Radio Australia in Melbourne in 1961–64, joined some months later. The lingering conflict between Mochtar Lubis and Hasjim Mahdan over the ownership of the paper was amicably resolved in September 1968 when it was agreed that Mochtar Lubis become sole publisher.[78] None of the former directors – Sarhindi, Aminuddin Lubis, or Hasjim Mahdan (who had become a respected senior lawyer in the Indonesian Association of Advocates, *Peradin*) – were involved in the new venture.

Now, as before 1956, Mochtar Lubis encouraged a sense of initiative, joint responsibility and commitment amongst his staff, who were drawn by his firm principles, strong personality and popular personal leadership style. He did not play the 'father-figure' (*bapak*) in his relations with staff. In the office, he addressed staff equally as either '*Bung*' (brother) or simply by name, and asked to be called '*Bung*' rather than the more honorific '*Pak*' (father). Mochtar led weekly meetings of senior staff and 'plenaries' of all journalists in the main editorial room. Such discussions ranged from political rumours and potential stories, to complaints over working conditions.[79] The new *Indonesia Raya* never achieved the circulation figures of commercially successful publications like *Merdeka, Kompas, Berita Yudha*, or *Sinar Harapan* and was unable to pay top wages.[80] However, shares in the company were offered to some senior administrative and editorial staff, primarily those from the 1950s. A profit-sharing scheme for other long-standing employees induced staff to accept low wages in return for a sense of involvement in the running of the paper. The paper remained financially weak. Income from advertising was small, reduced even further once government 'appeals' for press restraint were backed by pressure on certain departments and agencies to direct advertising away from *Indonesia Raya*.[81] The company's accounting procedures were imprecise. As Atmakusumah commented later, 'honestly, from the business side of things sometimes we did not appear to be particularly serious'.[82] In this, and more fundamental ways, *Indonesia Raya* was unable to adapt to the changing demands of the successful media in the 1970s.

Editorially, too, the post-1968 paper was less successful than its 1950s predecessor. Although a number of its headline-grabbing campaigns captured public interest, it attracted few new, younger readers. Its style was less critical and zesty, with a penchant for backward-looking historical features. Prior to its reopening, Goenawan Mohamad, then with *Harian KAMI* and later editor of the nation's most successful weekly, *Tempo*, said 'the role of *Indonesia Raya* has already been taken by *Harian KAMI*. With several outstanding *exposés*, with a very courageous attitude to news-coverage, with a militancy and the dynamics of aggressive youth, *Harian KAMI* is already performing the role of *Indonesia Raya* … [during] Guided Democracy'.[83] Other student activists and young journalists had hoped that *Indonesia Raya* would be able to marry the youthful verve and commitment of *Harian KAMI* with the intellectual force and maturity of *Kompas*. They wanted Mochtar to infuse young blood and were disappointed when he chose instead to regroup the old editorial board, which they felt was out of touch.[84]

As one student activist observed in 1969, the 'myth of Mochtar Lubis in jail during the Sukarno regime was the most essential part of the myth of *Indonesia Raya*'.[85] But, in the daily running of the paper, the role of upper echelon long-serving editors was greater than before 1956 because of Mochtar's more frequent absences from the office. His dominance was not undermined by this, but his appearances were brief, particularly during the newspaper's final years. He would breeze in, spend a few minutes chatting animatedly with various staff, praising them for achievements and monitoring their progress on important tasks. He would

type the editorial and the 'corner column' speedily, often standing up with a typewriter balanced on top of a cabinet in the main editorial room, using his private office only rarely, for receiving guests or meetings. With the exception of general policy directions, editorials and the 'corner column', Mochtar 'did not interfere at all' in daily *Indonesia Raya* business. So infused was the staff with Mochtar's attitudes to the role of the paper and its editorial line that his guidance was not particularly missed during his absences.[86] One senior staffer recalled that, about 1970, Mochtar Lubis even mused on the possibility of quitting *Indonesia Raya*. Yet, his guiding influence on the paper's social and political policy is reflected in the major issues taken up by the paper, which illustrate also his transition from regime supporter to dissident critic.

Several issues from the second series of *Indonesia Raya* illustrate the paper's – and the editor's – priorities. Two are major national political events: the 1971 General Elections and civil disturbances in January 1974. The others deal with the paper's stand on broader issues: the political ethics of intellectuals, the treatment of political prisoners, criticism of corruption and Japanese and ethnic Chinese business activities.

'Intellectual prostitution'

In April 1969, under the pseudonymous by-line 'Wira', *Indonesia Raya* published a controversial series entitled 'Examples of Intellectual Prostitution during the period of the Sukarno Regime', castigating individuals who, having formerly held influential positions under Sukarno, had adopted contrary principles in serving the New Order.[87] Economist Professor Mohammad Sadli, for example, had opposed foreign investment under Sukarno, yet was encouraging it as Suharto's Chairperson of the Foreign Investment Committee. The series triggered off vigorous debate within intellectual circles, being taken up in other papers like *Mahasiswa Indonesia*.[88]

The series, written in a punchy, uncompromising style by a senior journalist, D.H. Assegaff, echoed Mochtar's view that such intellectuals could not be separated from the power groups they served. On this occasion, as in 1954, when Kustiniyati Mochtar denounced Sukarno's marriage to Hartini, journalists, though not specifically directed to do so, pursued issues championed by Mochtar. So consonant with Mochtar's own views were the articles that he was widely assumed to be the author, with one publication even suggesting that had they not been published by Mochtar Lubis then the author would be immediately branded as 'Old Order' or 'having PKI-tendencies', and 'he'd be dead'.[89] Despite Mochtar not being the author, the 'intellectual prostitution' debate published under his editorship did reiterate his hard line against those who had attempted to change the Guided Democracy system from within rather than challenging it from without. In this, it echoed Mochtar's criticisms of Rosihan Anwar in 1961, which led to Rosihan's expulsion from the IPI.

Many saw the series, which was attacked in *Harian KAMI* and *Sinar Harapan*, as pompously self-righteous.[90] But there were also criticisms of *Indonesia Raya*

for being too cautious. When, during the 'intellectual prostitution' debate, a student supporter brought Mochtar incriminating information about Mrs Suharto's business activities, he decided against publication, leading the students to assume he was afraid.[91] Soe Hok Gie expressed his dismay on hearing from a friend that Mochtar had refused to publish stories about corruption in the state corporation, PT Berdikari, reportedly because its director was a client of Indoconsult.[92] Meanwhile, Mochtar's inflexibly hard-line anticommunism also disappointed some. When he objected to a Russian film festival in Jakarta in April 1969, because 'according to intelligence reports, Russia wants to stage a "come back" ', Soe Hok Gie wrote that he felt 'terrible when I see Mochtar, as an "intellectual", thinking so narrowly and so confusedly. I remember [a friend's] comments when he said that Mochtar was an intellectual prostitute'.[93]

Massacres and political prisoners

Mochtar Lubis's intransigence towards the PKI caused further consternation among his young admirers as they reassessed the issue of human rights. When officials of the Human Rights Institute [*Lembaga Hak-hak Asasi Manusia*] visited him in jail on 11 May 1966 to press for his release, '[we] raised for the attention of the Institute, the fate of the other detainees, also the 30th September Movement detainees, that they may get the appropriate treatment under the law', he wrote.[94] After his release he remained concerned about prison reform and the treatment of left-wing prisoners, but his call for a fair, swift trial for the leftist *tapol* [political prisoners] quietened.

Some intellectuals and student leaders wanted to use their anticommunist credentials to argue for 'rule of law' principles to be applied to the tens of thousands of untried prisoners arrested in the months after 1 October 1965. In August 1969, Arief Budiman and his brother Soe Hok Gie, who had had contact with Amnesty International, argued for an amnesty for the 'C Category' prisoners, that is, those the government itself had classified as least implicated and not to be tried. Mochtar was not sympathetic. On 3 August 1969, Soe Hok Gie wrote, 'Mochtar Lubis does not agree with my suggestion that Pak Harto put out a statement about receiving [the prisoners] back into society. I cannot understand Mochtar Lubis's 'non-intellectual' attitude'.[95] Mochtar's principles were tested in February 1969 when H.J.C. Princen, deputy chairperson of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, exposed a massacre of political detainees in the Purwodadi region of Central Java. While accompanying two Dutch journalists and assisted by local Catholic priests in Central Java, Princen was told that, in November and December 1968, between 2,000 and 3,000 people had been killed by Diponegoro units under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tejo Suwarno, on suspicion of left-wing associations.[96] The exposure of the massacres was a personal crisis for Princen, a long-time anti-communist and human rights activist since 1966, who had shared Madiun prison with Mochtar. Still close at that time to government figures, Princen approached the authorities with the information in the hope that those responsible would be punished.

On 26 February, *Harian KAMI* broke the news which was quickly taken up by other papers. Two days later, *Indonesia Raya*'s front page ran Princen's story with virtually no insertions. The next day's editorial, later quoted by the foreign press, exhorted the press to verify details, since the killing of even one person without recourse to legal defence was intolerable. Princen was praised for his courage in revealing the incident. The editorial writer continued: 'If this mass killing had been carried out during the months following the Gestapu coup, we could still understand such 'mass hysteria', although we could not agree with it. However, under current circumstances, when, for more than two years, we have all been talking about maintaining the 'rule of law', killings such as these can no longer be permitted'.[97] However, during the following days, *Indonesia Raya* gave more coverage to the military denials of the massacres than to Princen's evidence. For example, on 4 March 1969, the lead story was the denial of the massacres by the Diponegoro Commander Major-General Surono, who doubted whether Princen had even been to the area. By comparison, Princen's request to the President to establish an independent committee to examine the charges was given only four column-inches buried on page four. Nonetheless, *Indonesia Raya* did emphasise this call for an independent investigation strongly over the following weeks.[98]

The 5 March editorial noted that society was reluctant to face the problem of the political prisoners. Stressing the need to solve the issue legally, it argued that it was recourse to law that distinguished the 'New Order' government from its predecessor. The wording indicated no doubt that the massacre had taken place, but there was no call for punishment. The editorialist recognised implicitly that there was no hope of those responsible being tried. He argued that the struggle against communism should be waged by raising the nation's living standards, and countering the communists' 'false teachings', not by slaughter.

Indonesia Raya sent a journalist to Purwodadi, but he was under constant government escort and compiled only scant details of the atrocities.[99] In the face of a report by Information Minister Boediardjo denying the massacres,[100] *Indonesia Raya* was indecisive. Its editorial summation stated that, although journalist Maskun Iskandar found evidence of the murder of tens, perhaps hundreds, this was not mass slaughter on the scale claimed initially by Princen. Accepting Boediardjo's euphemistic explanation that the incident was simply the 'excesses' of a military operation, *Indonesia Raya* simply reiterated the need for an investigative committee.[101] Boediardjo gagged public discussion by declaring that 'the government cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that there is some connection, of course, between the launching of this news [about the massacre] and the activities of the remnants of the PKI to discredit the Indonesian government'.[102] *Indonesia Raya* replied with an editorial querying the assumption that raising the issue indicated PKI sympathies. Such intimidation, it said, was an 'Old Order' tactic, no longer appropriate in the 'Order of Development'.[103] Overall, the paper's response to the massacre was muted and restrained.[104]

Personally, Mochtar faced a dilemma regarding the political prisoners. Close friends were losing faith in the government's handling of the problem. Arief Budiman, for example, was highly critical in October 1971 of General

Ali Murtopo's callous dismissal of the *tapol* as 'poison which did not deserve to be defended', a stance Arief likened to the gagging of the Cultural Manifesto group under Sukarno.[105] In October 1973, as part of a tour of journalists and staff of *Kopkamtib* commander General Soemitro and Attorney General Ali Said, Mochtar visited Buru penal island in the Moluccas to which over 10,000 leftist political prisoners had been transported since 1969. Despite his experience both as a journalist and as a political prisoner, Mochtar's coverage contrasted starkly with the highly critical reports that came out of similar visits by foreign journalists.[106] His *Indonesia Raya* reports made the *tapol*'s harsh life sound almost idyllic, writing that on Buru 'people could only die of hunger if they were so lazy that they did not even want to swallow'.[107] Generally trivialising the *tapol* issue, the series ignored the prisoners' deprivations and the question of their release. There was virtually no mention of political or physical repression, the scarcity of the necessities of life, limited facilities, punishments meted out for trivial breaches of discipline, or the psychological intimidation of the prisoners.

Mochtar later defended his articles by saying he was concerned that the authorities would punish prisoners who had spoken to him if his reports were unfavourable. He argued that he had spoken privately to General Soemitro about the prisoners' grievances, believing that this would be a more effective than publicising the issue in *Indonesia Raya*.[108] This was a stark reversal of his own position when, as a prisoner in May 1966, he was annoyed with 'friends' outside who kept quiet to avoid 'aggravating the conditions of our detention'. He wanted them to tell the world about his unjust detention since keeping quiet only 'gives comfort and aid to the tyrant'.[109]

Although an irregular *Indonesia Raya* column, 'Downtrodden and Ravaged', defending the legal rights of the poor, was praised as exemplary by the Legal Aid Institute, *Indonesia Raya*'s treatment of the application of 'rule of law' and human rights specifically to leftist political prisoners was not significantly different from a much larger group of newspapers, including the moderate press and the New Order militant papers.[110] Mochtar Lubis's anticommunism and his acceptance of army rule, combined to make him a tepid defender of political prisoners under the New Order.[111]

Pertamina and the anti-corruption campaigns

More than anything else, *Indonesia Raya* of 1968–74 made its mark by its determined *exposé* of corruption in the frank, confrontational style of the paper's earlier incarnation. Initially, this was tempered by explicit support for the regime, never criticising the military as an institution, declaring that the Armed Forces 'originates from the people and upholds the aspirations of the Indonesian people's struggle'.[112] But *Indonesia Raya* struck at Suharto's personal assistants dubbed by some the 'invisible cabinet'.[113] The paper criticised the financial dealings of key government functionaries like Major General Suryo Wiryohadiputro, a former presidential Personal Assistant (*Aspri*); General Ibnu Sutowo, President-Director of the state oil company Pertamina; and Colonel Soedjono Hoemardani, another former Suharto assistant, with strong links to

Japanese business. Till the end of 1971 at least, the newspaper assumed the President was competent and well intentioned, but surrounded by rogue officers who needed culling.

The most dramatic story of the paper's second avatar was the exposure of corruption and mismanagement in Pertamina.[114] General Ibnu Sutowo, who became Minister for Oil and Gas in February 1966, was targeted by student demonstrations that year as corrupt.[115] He was moved from this position in 1967 but, with the strong support of Suharto, he retained control of Pertamina,[116] which he rapidly built into a major revenue generator for the army and the regime. From it, he diversified into nonoil industries, distributed largesse widely and extracted a personal fortune. He operated the company without government constraints or accountability, developing a 'reputation as a very tough bargainer with foreign oil companies', yet one who could 'assure foreign investors in the oil sector of expeditious and friendly treatment'.[117] His 'production-sharing' contracts with foreign companies gave Pertamina a share of actual production rather than eventual profit, and later became 'a sought-after model for other OPEC countries'.[118] To admirers, he personified the dynamic 'Javanese captain of industry, operating with spectacular *panache*', refusing to allow legal obligations to constrain his expansive entrepreneurial imagination.[119]

Ibnu Sutowo became the central focus of Mochtar's moral passion, as Sukarno had been before 1966. Ibnu Sutowo's opulent lifestyle, paraded in March 1969 during his daughter's extravagant wedding, and his cavalier disregard for financial accountability to the government, angered the editor. The student press had been critical of Ibnu Sutowo since 1966. *Mahasiswa Indonesia* denounced his 'feudalistic' style and *Sinar Harapan*, too, disapproved.[120] Such papers were enthusiastic allies when, on 22 November 1969, *Indonesia Raya* began an *exposé* of Pertamina, armed with information leaked by highly placed government officials within or close to Pertamina, the Department of Mines and Bank Indonesia, accumulated during nearly 12 months of extensive research. The evidence, outlined in rigorously documented articles detailing corruption and abuse of power within Pertamina, was so comprehensive that the company did not contest the matter in court. The *exposé* exemplified how editors like Mochtar Lubis used the relatively open press, under Information Minister Boediardjo (1968–73), to scrutinise government instrumentalities.[121]

Mochtar Lubis was subsequently approached by an assistant of Ibnu Sutowo who sought to test his interest in an oil concession, in what Mochtar interpreted as a financial inducement to drop the investigations.[122] When *Indonesia Raya*'s exposure of Pertamina was attacked by pro-Army papers, like *Angkatan Bersenjata*, which accused Mochtar of a conflict of interest between his roles in *Indonesia Raya* and Indoconsult,[123] moderate dailies, like *Kompas*, and the student press backed him. The battles lines were not clear-cut however, with *Pedoman* agreeing Mochtar faced a conflict of interest.[124] Mochtar challenged his 'slanderers' to prove their aspersions in court.[125] The editor was a great believer in the 'rule of law', of having the court determine issues and, as he had in his *exposé* of Roeslan Abdulgani in 1956, Mochtar was always prepared to back *Indonesia Raya*'s claims with evidence in open court.

After *Indonesia Raya* published a prurient claim B.M. Diah had been involved in a sex scandal, Diah's *Merdeka* accused Mochtar of trying to extort Rp.100 million from Pertamina in October 1969, in return for suppressing the *exposé*.[126] Diah implied that Mochtar attacked Pertamina because an Indoconsult offer of services to Pertamina was rejected.[127] *Merdeka* claimed that *Indonesia Raya* had received 'foreign' funding to attack Pertamina and destroy Ibnu Sutowo, because his 'tough' oil policies were limiting foreign oil company profits. Diah was unable to prove his allegations during the ensuing court cases, in which Mochtar and Diah sued one another for defamation.[128]

The crusade against Pertamina was long and bitter. The pressure for an independent investigation into corruption increased when, in early January 1970, *Indonesia Raya* implicated President Suharto's personal adviser on financial affairs, Major General Suryo Wiryohadiputro, in the misappropriation of $711,000 of government money.[129] Large student demonstrations broke out during January, triggered by a hike in the price of oil which impacted on prices generally and sustained by persistent student opposition to corruption. The protests were supported by the press, spearheaded by papers like *Indonesia Raya*, *Nusantara*, *Mahasiswa Indonesia* and *Harian KAMI*.[130] At the end of January, in what a former Minister for Mines described privately as a response to the demonstrations triggered by *Indonesia Raya*'s articles, the government appointed a 'Commission of Four' to placate the rising tide of protest with an inquiry into corruption. Six months later, when the commission had completed its report, Mochtar Lubis disappointed student supporters by declining to print a leaked copy, the initiative taken instead by *Sinar Harapan*'s Aristides Katoppo.[131]

Despite the Commission's discovery of 'enough blatant instances of Pertamina's deviations from its legal obligations to build up a compelling case of organisational changes … to circumscribe Ibnu Sutowo's personal authority and impose a much greater degree of accountability',[132] Pertamina mismanagement went largely uncorrected. In 1974, oil prices quadrupled and Pertamina joined the list of the world's top 200 corporations. Nonetheless, by February 1975, its massive short-term debts could not be serviced, and, with the company facing financial chaos, in October the government took over all its financial obligations, conceding Pertamina's short-term debt of US$1.5 billion equalled Indonesia's total foreign exchange reserves![133] Mochtar's unheeded warnings had proved correct. Long into the 1980s, he decried the government's handling of the Pertamina affair, in a vendetta against Ibnu Sutowo, who was dismissed 'with honour' in March 1976 and presented by Suharto with a state award for his services to the oil industry in 1985.

While student demonstrations continued in Jakarta during July to August 1970, as Crouch notes, it 'was widely believed that the confidence with which *Indonesia Raya* and *Nusantara* attacked the generals close to Suharto was derived from their belief that they had the support of reform-minded elements within the army [… for these two papers showed a confidence and spirit] unprecedented since the army had come to power'.[134] *Indonesia Raya* still believed the President would curb the excesses of his assistants, but the paper's charmed relationship with the New

Order military was ending. In August 1970, Suharto declared that if papers like *Indonesia Raya* and *Nusantara* kept making nuisances of themselves, they would be dealt with firmly.[135] Eight months later, in April 1971, *Nusantara*'s T.D. Hafas was charged with disseminating hatred against the President and his assistants and, in September, sentenced to a year's jail.[136]

Golkar and the 1971 elections

The 1971 general elections proved a watershed in Mochtar's relations with the Suharto government. Like many intellectuals who had opposed Sukarno and the party system, Mochtar remembered Indonesia's only previous national election in 1955 with distaste and did not want current disaffection with the Suharto government to jeopardise political stability. In April 1968, he had called for the dissolution of all the existing parties, arguing that all had lost credibility under corrupt leaders.[137] Since October 1969, *Indonesia Raya* had advocated the postponement of elections until the President reformed the party structure, believing that elections would only result in the return of 'the same old people, who used to be Sukarno's "yes-men" and used to accept the Nasakom cooperation which we have cursed'.[138]

Like other New Order militants, and the government itself, Mochtar feared an election would reproduce the balance of parties already represented in the Parliament, but he was also uncertain about the government's own quasi-party, Golkar. Golkar, the Joint Secretariat of Functional Groups, had been established under Army sponsorship in 1964 to challenge PKI influence. It was largely inactive until revamped in 1969–70 as an organisational vehicle to secure an electoral victory for the New Order. Golkar appealed to many 1966 student Action Front activists and to New Order intellectuals hostile to the existing parties.[139]

Meanwhile public protests through 1970 were draining support from the Suharto government. The murder of a Bandung student in October 1970 by a police cadet symbolised, for observers such as Rosihan Anwar, the clear rift which had developed between the military and students in particular, civilians in general. While some intellectuals and students were hoping to work through Golkar to acquire political power, others had lost faith and were seeking to exert 'moral force' from outside the government. Some, such as Mochtar's confederates Arief Budiman and Adnan Buyung Nasution, were agitating for a protest vote. They advocated that voters repudiate not only the nine parties which were standing but also Golkar, by piercing the white part of their voting paper, demonstrating their preparedness to vote, but rejecting available choices. Supporters of this position became known as *Golput* [the White Group]. By the end of 1970s, many intellectuals who had initially supported the New Order were growing disillusioned. As Aspinall has argued, such 'ambivalence derived partly from liberal intellectuals' own weakness in the formal political arena and their contempt for the old mass-based parties'.[140]

For Mochtar Lubis, the choice was between Golkar and Golput; he favoured the former.[141] While adamant he was not a Golkar member, he hoped that, with a

firm mandate, Golkar would fulfil its promises and ensure more even social and economic development, overriding individual instances of corruption.[142] Mochtar later claimed he was trying to keep *Indonesia Raya* neutral during the election campaign, but many of his friends felt his writings favoured Golkar.[143] The paper was anti-party, criticised Golput, and opened its columns to material favourable to Golkar. Enggak Bahau'ddin reportedly spoke on a Golkar electioneering platform in Padang. For the editorial staff generally, Golkar represented the best of the uninspiring alternatives.[144] In Mochtar's view, there was little choice but to cooperate with and attempt to influence the army. He argued that 'the Armed Forces-Technocrat partnership should be defended and continued, in order to guarantee the dynamic stability of economic development in our country'.[145] Such *Indonesia Raya* editorials were a declaration of support for Golkar, the embodiment of this 'partnership'.

Golkar's most spectacular convert from the New Order intellectuals, given his pivotal role in establishing Golput, was Adnan Buyung Nasution, who joined the Golkar bandwagon only days before the end of public electioneering. At the Golkar finale in Senayan stadium, Buyung Nasution expressed his dissatisfaction about corruption and misuse of power, but declared that 'it is Golkar which has clearly taken the people in the direction of improvements and progress'. He urged youth not just to protest and complain, but to 'build together with Golkar'.[146] Buyung Nasution's qualified endorsement of Golkar paralleled Mochtar's position. Yet, for both these men, it was an uneasy compromise. For Mochtar the election, in which Golkar gained 62.8 per cent of the votes, signified 'the end of my honeymoon with the government of the New Order'.[147] His support was eroded by electoral malpractice, Golkar's intimidation of voters and the capricious arrest of opponents.[148]

The paper's editorial line became harsher, and its criticism directed closer to the President, including after December 1971 attacking Mrs Suharto's backing for a wasteful 'Indonesia-in-Miniature' tourist park. In the editorial, 'Officials' Wives Who Are Active In The Field Of Business', for example, it criticised

> the wives of central government officials in business, [who use] the legality and position of their husbands as their most important capital … [abusing] the position of the husband to attain wealth.[…] Today the wife, tomorrow the in-laws, after that the younger sibling, child or nephew. If the members of this official's family work together with *cukong* [Chinese financiers] then the destruction of this country is at hand'.[149]

The allusion to the increasingly rapacious behaviour of Suharto and his family was incontrovertible.

Economic and racial issues

In April 1967, responding to recent anti-Chinese violence, Mochtar wrote a letter to the national daily *Kompas* expressing his concern at increasing racism in

Indonesia, which had the potential to tarnish the reputation of the New Order and erode the loyalty of Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent.[150] His public stand was noted, not least by his many Chinese friends. Yet the community's anti-Sinicism, particularly evident after 1970 in nationalist papers like *Nusantara*, was reflected also, albeit less starkly, in *Indonesia Raya*. The paper frequently queried the mutually profitable relationship between powerful army officers and their Chinese business partners [*cukong*].[151] Many foreign companies preferred to work with experienced Chinese entrepreneurs rather than with ethnic Indonesians [*pribumi*], a factor which some observers believed contributed to an upsurge in racist, and particularly anti-Chinese, sentiment during the early 1970s.[152] *Indonesia Raya* took up many of the complaints of the indigenous business community, of which Mochtar was a member, against successful ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs.[153] The paper's premise that the confluence of foreign, particularly Japanese, and established Indonesian Chinese interests disadvantaged the community can be seen as fuelling anti-Chinese animosity. By not necessarily distinguishing between politically well-connected *cukong* and ordinary Chinese, *Indonesia Raya* risked presenting complex economic and political conflicts in polarised racial terms.

Mochtar Lubis had long been critical of Japanese business practices. In November 1966, addressing a foreign correspondents' gathering in his honour in Tokyo, he criticised the Japanese for offering bribes and women to Indonesian officials, a theme he reiterated in October 1967 in a *Mahasiswa Indonesia* article.[154] *Indonesia Raya*, together with other opposition papers like *Mahasiswa Indonesia* and news magazines like *Tempo*, was particularly critical of the so-called 'Japanese lobby', personified by General Soedjono Hoemardani.[155] In one of the boldest of its attacks, *Indonesia Raya* asserted 'we feel that it is extremely damaging and dangerous for Indonesia to allow Soedjono Hoemardhani to continue to play his role as this 'unofficial channel'.[156] Mochtar's criticism of Japanese investment contrasted with his more positive evaluation of investment from countries like America. As a founder and shareholder in Indoconsult business consultancy, he had few qualms about foreign investment *per se*, provided it was regulated and benefited national entrepreneurs, but he was unimpressed when multinationals dealt with Chinese financiers, military officers, or cronies of the President.

The Chinese in Indonesia had historically been a scapegoat for wider social and economic frustrations and *Indonesia Raya* had a record of channelling anti-Sinicism.[157] In Bandung, on 4 August 1973, for example, a collision between an indigene's cart and a car driven by an ethnic Chinese, escalated into a major civil disturbance with soldiers from a nearby Siliwangi detachment joining the crowd rampaging through the Chinese quarter destroying property and assaulting ethnic Chinese.[158] The Information Minister immediately instructed all editors to refrain from 'exaggerating the Bandung incident'. In Mochtar's absence overseas, *Indonesia Raya*'s deputy editor-in-chief, Enggak Bahau'ddin, and managing editor, Atmakusumah, decided that an incident of such magnitude so close to the capital had to be reported in depth. *Indonesia Raya* published a comprehensive spread taking three-quarters of the front page, mainly based on their own sources

but including the government position and ministerial statement.[159] *Indonesia Raya*'s prominent coverage, with four graphic photos of the damage, greatly exceeded other papers. In some, such as *Nusantara* and *Abadi*, the Bandung incident ran as a normal lead story but most gave only brief details on the inner pages. *Indonesia Raya* sold out swiftly with distributors unable to meet demand.

When Kopkamtib phoned for an explanation the following morning, the staff anticipated a ban. Enggak Bahau'ddin argued that unsubstantiated rumour is more dangerous than fact and that a balanced presentation would calm, not exacerbate, anxiety. Five months later, when *Indonesia Raya* finally was banned, the Bandung incident was cited as the beginning of a series of unheeded warnings and 'reminders' to the paper 'not to sharpen or aggravate social contrasts which could destabilise or ruin national stability which has become a necessary precondition for development'.[160] In fact, the only written warning given the paper concerned a front page photo of an Australian strip-tease dancer which the Department of Information said 'tended towards pornography'.[161]

Indonesia Raya's coverage of the Bandung incident boosted sales significantly, as did the switch, in August, from 'hot metal' printing, which produced a cluttered, inelegant result, to modern off-set, which gave a cleaner, more readable appearance.[162] From a low of just under 20,000 during January to May 1973, sales quickly increased by about 5,000 with off-set, reaching a second series peak of 41,000 during coverage of the student demonstrations over the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka in January 1974.

The 'Malari' riots of January 1974

Summarising Indonesia in 1973, Allan A. Samson wrote a 'poor rice harvest, an inflationary spiral, a coercive government rice procurement program, the perpetuation of clear military predominance, a questionable governmental regard for civil liberties, an anti-Chinese riot, increasing urban unemployment and rural underemployment, and student demonstrations against high-level official corruption and arbitrary governmental practices all produced a pervasive climate of apprehension and concern'.[163] Moderate and opposition papers like *Abadi*, *Harian Kami* and *Indonesia Raya* were increasingly disparaging of the government's economic development strategies.[164] In addition to its wariness regarding Japanese investment practices and Chinese financiers' links to prominent military officers, throughout 1973 *Indonesia Raya* expressed concerns about weak 'rule of law' and the government's forced 'simplification' of the Opposition into only two approved political parties. Reflecting a theme to which Mochtar was to return frequently during the following decades, the paper also exhorted the wealthy to avoid ostentation and 'live simply'.[165]

As Atmakusumah has noted, in its editorials, articles and 'corner column', *Indonesia Raya* supported students' and intellectuals' criticism of corruption and government economic policies, which they saw as exacerbating the gap between rich and poor, promoting 'unselective' foreign capital investment, and favouring 'Indonesian citizens of foreign descent' – an allusion to ethnic Chinese.[166]

In March, frustrated at parliamentary inaction on corruption, an *Indonesia Raya* editorial asked rhetorically 'should the university students and young people be ordered back onto the streets like seven years ago?'[167] The newspaper regarded the student protests as 'something positive'.[168] Its own criticism of the 'Japanese lobby', Presidential 'Special Assistants' (particularly Soedjono Hoemardani), economic mismanagement, foreign investment policies and nepotism within the government grew sharper in the final three months of the year. *Indonesia Raya* provided extensive front-page reports when Thai students succeeded in ousting the Thanom-Prapas military government in October 1973, in a victory which encouraged their Indonesian counterparts and was widely covered in opposition papers.[169]

There was growing apprehension within the officer corps, particularly among field commanders, about the behaviour of what Crouch has called the 'political' and 'financial' generals surrounding Suharto. These generals, typified by the President's former personal assistants, Ali Murtopo and Soedjono Hoemardani, were seen by more professional-minded officers as endangering what the army regarded as its legitimate mandate to rule Indonesia. Reform-minded professionals wanted to maintain military control, but to limit corruption and 'excesses'.[170] In the last four months of 1973, Lieutenant General Soemitro, head of *Kopkamtib* and deputy commander of the armed forces associated himself with the reform movement within the Department of Defence and Security. Along with other papers like *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, *Indonesia Raya* regarded General Soemitro's activities favourably, though Mochtar Lubis later said he did 'not feel that we [*Indonesia Raya*] were collaborating with Soemitro'.[171] In pursuing a bitter rivalry with General Ali Murtopo, Soemitro courted sympathy on campuses during a whistle-stop tour through Java in November 1973. His openness to students gave the impression of high-level sympathy for reform. Photographed on *Indonesia Raya*'s front page during an amicable discussion with the dissident playwright Rendra, Soemitro claimed encouragingly if ambiguously that April 1974 would ring in a 'new pattern of leadership'.[172] His call for 'two-way communication' between the people and government was reported enthusiastically by a press interpreting it as a relaxation of media control.

During this 'Prague spring', Mochtar Lubis recommended that the *Yayasan Indonesia* [Indonesia Foundation] group (which published *Horison* literary magazine) organise a seminar on the benefits and disadvantages of foreign capital investment in Indonesia. With Mochtar chairing the 30 November seminar, speakers included Indonesia's first Vice President, Mohammad Hatta, together with respected liberal academics such as Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti. Held in Jakarta's packed Cultural Hall, the lively discussion united the civilian opposition across generational and party loyalties. Participants demanded stricter controls on foreign investment and circulated a petition calling for a revival of national pride, to which Mochtar added his signature (and about which he was later interrogated after his arrest).[173] In such ways Mochtar Lubis took an active personal interest in the protest movement, meeting often with student leaders, such as Hariman Siregar. So too did other *Indonesia Raya* staff, notably deputy editor Enggak

Bahau'ddin, with one *Indonesia Raya* journalist, Jus Soemadipradja, playing an active role in the movement while reporting for the paper.

Early January 1974, the students specified three primary demands: the 'dissolution of the *Aspri* [Special Presidential Assistants], the reduction of prices and the suppression of corruption'.[174] *Indonesia Raya* supported all these, but with different emphases to the broad student movement. During the first fortnight of the New Year, the paper redoubled its campaign against Chinese entrepreneurs and foreign, specifically Japanese, investment. It took up the cudgel for the indigenous business community, warning the government that the collapse of these players would lead to serious unrest. The paper's coverage reflected the confluence of interests across reform-oriented groups in the military, government and urban intellectual community as the New Year opened. As the tenor of the coverage heightened, deputy editor Enggak Bahau'ddin criticised the President's New Year speech for avoiding central public grievances, such as the belief that the primary beneficiaries of 'development' were 'senior officials' and their families. Claiming generous financial credit flowed to nonindigenous business people very close to the New Order elite while indigenous entrepreneurs were ignored, Enggak Bahau'ddin wrote sarcastically, 'the person who drew up the President's speech forgot to touch on this problem'. Suharto's assertions that Japanese and other foreign capital was not indebting the country were simply 'untrue', he argued.

While the student movement was neither monolithic nor homogeneous, the consensus target was the government's development policy. In retrospect, some leaders felt that Mochtar Lubis had encouraged a sharper focus on Japanese investment rather than general development issues. They felt *Indonesia Raya* had reported incidents or comments by public figures selectively, highlighting criticisms of Japanese, rather than other foreign, activities and that, in discussions, Mochtar Lubis was less apprehensive about non-Japanese capital.[175] From 10 January, demonstrations attacking the role of Ali Murtopo, Soedjono Hoemardani and Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka (due to arrive on 14 January), held the paper's front page. Massive student protests on the 14th and the morning of the 15th, were followed that afternoon by public rioting as slum dwellers and disaffected youths rampaging through the city centre burned cars and businesses. Only the next day, when the main Senen shopping centre was looted and set ablaze, did riot troops descend in force. It was widely believed by student leaders (and foreign scholars) that petty criminal *agents provocateurs* mobilised by Ali Murtopo triggered the rioting and looting to discredit Soemitro's handling of the student demonstrations.[176] *Indonesia Raya* covered what became known as the '15 January Disaster' [*Malari*] with long descriptive articles, and eye-catching photos of the damage.

Detention

The government moved swiftly against its critics. Among the 470 arrested were student leaders like Hariman Siregar, PSI figures like Soebadio Sastrosatomo (who had been in Madiun prison with Mochtar in the 1960s), lawyers and human

rights activists such as Adnan Buyung Nasution and J.C. Princen (another Madiun detainee), and academics like Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti.[177] Press bans began on 16 January 1974 when *Nusantara* had its printing permit withdrawn by the Jakarta *Kopkamtib*. After Surabaya's *Suluh Berita* three days later, *Mahasiswa Indonesia* was next, banned on 20 January. In a sweep against critical newspapers, on 21 January 1974, Jakarta *Kopkamtib* withdrew the printing permits of *Indonesia Raya*, *Harian KAMI*, *Abadi*, *The Jakarta Times*, and the weeklies, *Wenang* and *Pemuda Indonesia*. *Pedoman* and the weekly *Ekspres* followed on 24 January. In all, twelve publications were banned indefinitely causing 417 press workers in Jakarta and 85 elsewhere to lose employment.[178]

Like the other banned publications, *Indonesia Raya* was accused of having 'published articles which could damage the authority of, and faith in, the national leadership [… and run stories which] are regarded as inciting the people, resulting in the opening of opportunities which could ripen or aggravate the situation, leading to the chaotic events which took place on 15 and 16 January 1974, and which could incite one leader against the other' (a veiled reference to the Soemitro-Ali Murtopo tensions). On 22 January, the Information Department rescinded the paper's obligatory publication permit specifically citing, among other reasons, that it had published articles which 'had stirred up issues such as foreign capital, corruption, the Armed Forces' "Dual Function" [in military and civilian affairs], the degeneration of government apparatuses, high level struggles, the problem between the Presidential Special Assistants and Kopkamtib, [and] destroyed the faith of the community in the national leadership'.[179]

In the months leading up to the riots *Indonesia Raya* had been caught in what Aspinall has referred to as the 'enmeshment of dissidence and regime factionalism', then at its clearest since the establishment of the New Order.[180] 'Military professionals' and civilian technocrats within the regime, allied with their liberal middle-class sympathisers, had failed to cauterize their more 'entrepreneurial' military rivals. Despite the official abolition of the Special Presidential Assistants, the Ali Murtopo bloc jockeyed into primary positions while Soemitro and his colleagues were shunted aside.

Indonesia Raya was one of the boldest papers prior to Malari, but compared with its style during the 1950s, the paper's criticisms of the government had been relatively restrained. Staff contended they were critical of individuals and particular government policies rather than Suharto himself or the principles espoused by the New Order. They continued to see their role as that of a 'loyal opposition', a 'partner in development' so the editors chose their words carefully. *Indonesia Raya*'s style encouraged readers to take their own inference from its presentation of statements by the President, together with actual contraventions of such principles, using Suharto's comments as a yardstick against which to assess his government. The 'corner column' used this style incisively. The paper constantly emphasised the need for government introspection.[181]

Characteristically, Mochtar Lubis was overseas when Malari reached its peak. Leaving for Paris the first morning of the big rioting, he passed a burning Senen market on his way to Kemayoran airport.[182] Throughout the crisis, the paper was

then in the hands of Enggak Bahau'ddin and managing editor Atmakusumah. Mochtar, who had heard of the ban while in international transit, returned early February to find the entire *Indonesia Raya* staff waiting for him at the airport. Staff gathered rather mournfully to photograph any attempt to arrest the returning editor. Mochtar emerged in good spirits, hoping to inspire staff with his customary enthusiasm and good humour. Reminding them that they had accepted the risks of being banned, he stressed once more his familiar theme that newspapers have a duty to report forthrightly or close down.

Mochtar Lubis pressed the Information Minister and new head of *Kopkamtib* to justify the ban on *Indonesia Raya* in court, threatening to launch a legal counter-challenge. They counselled patience, assuring that the President would resolve the problem. After about three months, Mochtar paid off the employees so they could try to find other work, which proved particularly difficult since the government required prospective employers to gain special clearance from the Department of Information before employing black-listed journalists from the banned papers.[183]

After his return from Paris, Mochtar Lubis had been instructed not to leave the country. For about two months, he was called for questioning approximately once a week. No formal charges were laid, but the interrogators accused him of mobilising the students to overthrow the government. Deputy editor Enggak Bahau'ddin was arrested on 21 June 1974 (to be detained for nearly 11 months).[184] While Mochtar remained free, the mood was unrelentingly tense as he anticipated rearrest, despite jibes from friends glad he had evaded detention.[185] Without *Indonesia Raya*, he busied himself writing for *Solidarity* magazine in Manila, and *Newsweek* internationally.[186] Finally, on 4 February 1975 more than a year after the riots, he was arrested to spend nearly two and a half months in Nirbaya prison on the southern outskirts of Jakarta until 14 April.

The long gap between the *Indonesia Raya* ban and Mochtar Lubis's arrest remains a mystery. The last to be detained over Malari, Mochtar believed the delay was used to fabricate evidence, namely a document alleging that together with Enggak Bahau'ddin and others, he had held a secret meeting to overthrow the government.[187] A Malari detainee, Subroto Danusaputro, who claimed to be an *Indonesia Raya* correspondent in East Java, produced a 'strictly confidential' report of an alleged 'briefing' given by Mochtar at Enggak Bahau'ddin's home on 5 February 1974 which discussed capitalising on Malari to change the national leadership by 1977. Subroto's cryptic and confused report could not be substantiated. Whereas student leaders, such as Hariman Siregar, were tried and sentenced to up to six and a half years jail, charges were not pressed against Mochtar Lubis or Enggak Bahau'ddin who were both released unconditionally.[188]

Mochtar Lubis regarded his arrest as a victory for the Japanese lobby. The January 1974 incident provided an opportunity, he thought, for people such as Ibnu Sutowo and Soedjono Hoemardani who had been the targets of *Indonesia Raya*'s attacks, to silence the paper. *Indonesia Raya*'s history of opposition to the Special Presidential Assistants and Ali Murtopo made its reappearance unlikely. Mochtar was approached indirectly by someone he believed to be acting unofficially for the Information Department. They suggested Mochtar would be

permitted either to publish another paper without the name *Indonesia Raya*, or to reopen *Indonesia Raya* stripped of his name (although he could still write, anonymously).[189] Mochtar Lubis rejected both alternatives, arguing that neither he nor *Indonesia Raya* had acted illegally and to compromise would be an admission of guilt. He stood firm, but his role as editor of *Indonesia Raya* was over.

Mochtar Lubis had emerged from detention in 1966 with an unparalleled reputation as a courageous and determined anti-Sukarnoist and anticommunist. While his 'honeymoon' with the New Order was relatively brief, ending with the first general elections in 1971, he had remained broadly a supporter of the principles espoused by the New Order at its birth if unhappy with the rapaciousness of those exercising power. Like many secular modernising intellectuals who had supported the initial civilian-military alliance against the Left, he had little choice but either to join the regime – as did many of the former student activists – or to resign himself to ineffective dissidence from outside the centres of political power. Ostracised, he declined to join the fray of practical politics. He was a maverick and a critic, a confident and articulate dissident, not a team-player or a political mobiliser and found mass politics anathema. Having survived the cut and thrust of press politics during the Sukarno period, he knew the risks of direct confrontation with power. He was more circumspect in challenging Suharto than he had been in targeting Sukarno. While he might not have lived up entirely to the hopes of his young student activist admirers, he used *Indonesia Raya* strategically to campaign on issues of principle. Ultimately, as *Malari* demonstrated, his attempts at ameliorating the excesses of the increasingly entrenched New Order were as futile as his criticisms were unwelcome.

From this point on, his contribution to the national media was primarily as a symbol – albeit a potent and evocative one – rather than as practitioner. While he was never again to stand at the helm of a daily newspaper, Mochtar had a pervasive impact upon the national, social and cultural movements of his time, not least as a cultural broker, liaison, and spokesperson for the artistic community. It is to this that we turn in the next chapter.

6 Cultural broker under the New Order

While Mochtar Lubis was most controversial politically as editor of *Indonesia Raya*, since he release from Keagungan Street detention house in 1966 he played a formative role as a leading figure in the anticommunist artistic community initially fostered – and subsequently constrained – by the New Order. He edited the major literary magazine to emerge during the New Order. He was involved in the premier artistic organisation and arts centre to be funded by the Jakarta government, and founded a *niche* book publishing company to provide Indonesian translations of key international publications. While pursuing such cultural and artistic endeavours,[1] he continued to publish his own works of fiction. For all these achievements, Mochtar Lubis was rewarded with honours nationally and sought out internationally as a spokesperson and 'broker' standing at the interstices of Indonesia and the world.

Horison literary magazine

Among the anti-Sukarno student leaders who approached Mochtar Lubis while he was still in detention in 1966 was a signatory of the Cultural Manifesto, Arief Budiman. As the youth discussed with Mochtar the agitating students' views on artistic and political developments, he impressed upon his hero the need for a new literary magazine. On his release, Mochtar agreed to become Chief Editor legally responsible for the publication and to assist in finding funds for the venture.[2] *Horison* [Horizon] was launched in July 1966 and recognised as the literary vanguard of the 1966 student movement, a nexus between opponents of LEKRA from the 'Cultural Manifesto' group and young artists associated with the student movement.[3]

In its first edition, *Horison* declared itself a 'monthly magazine of literature in the broadest sense'. It was committed to 'stimulating ideas and experiments in the field of literature specifically, culture generally'. Its internationalist horizons were visible in that, apart from the works of Indonesians, it promised 'always [to] strive to present the works of artists and intellectuals from outside Indonesia, especially works which articulate new thoughts and experiments in the field of culture'.[4] In his introductory editorial, Mochtar charted the new magazine's course towards 'freedom and constructive values', constituting a clear break with the

'monolithic power' of the past – a clear dig at the previous influence of LEKRA. He called upon readers to 'leave the narrow space which till now has imprisoned our spirit and thoughts [and] let us free ourselves from the shackles and traps of slogans of a chauvinistic and xenophobic nature'.[5]

Mochtar Lubis headed an editorial board that included Jassin, Zaini, Taufiq Ismail, Arief Budiman and D.S. Moeljanto, all of whom had been signatories of the Cultural Manifesto.[6] The names of other signatories, such as Goenawan Mohamad, were soon added. Some observers regarded *Horison* as a continuation of *Sastra*, the magazine which had published the Cultural Manifesto and then been forced to close in 1964. There was certainly an overlapping of editorial personalities, content and style between the two. Of the three primary former editors of *Sastra*, both Jassin and D.S. Mulyanto joined *Horison*.[7] As the first New Order literary magazine and the one most closely identified with the '1966 Generation', *Horison* was almost as strong in its anticommunism as in its opposition to Sukarnoist populism. But its humanist commitment and a growing concern among staff about army-instigated human rights abuses meant that a number of stories sympathetic to the victims of the anticommunist purges were published.[8]

While there were other magazines regularly publishing fiction,[9] *Horison* was the major outlet for those writers constrained by the closure of *Sastra* in 1964. Established writers inhibited by earlier political circumstances embraced the magazine enthusiastically and new ones sought its imprimatur. Very quickly, *Horison* came to set the standards by which New Order fiction was evaluated. When Ayip Rosidi compiled his comprehensive, 690-page anthology, *Laut Biru Langit Biru* [Blue Sea, Blue Sky] covering the first decade of 'New Order' literature, at most only ten of the 62 authors included had not published in *Horison*.[10] For many, it was their major outlet. The editorial board, under Mochtar, played an important role as 'gatekeeper' strongly influencing literary production in New Order Indonesia. From the outset, the magazine had the stamp of its editors and their view of literature. As Jassin commented privately just after its launch, people 'are saying [*Horison*] is rather intellectualist (particularly the essays …), feels foreign, and is not about Indonesia's own problems. I feel there is some truth in this'.[11] In September 1974, its editors were criticised during a mock 'Poetry Trial' when a group of young writers called, tongue in cheek, for the 'pensioning off' of the *Horison* editors and a ban on the magazine, partly because of what they claimed was its resistance to styles of writing outside the personal tastes of editors.[12]

Although prestigious, *Horison*'s circulation remained small, mainly within such artistic circles. Funding was a constant challenge; here too Mochtar played a pivotal role. One entrepreneur friend, Sukada, provided the initial capital of Rp. 10,000, to get the magazine going; another, A.H. Sahab, agreed to have his Angin printery company in Blora Street print it at discount rates.[13] But such local support proved inadequate and around 1970, *Horison*'s publisher, Indonesia Foundation [*Yayasan Indonesia*], turned to the International Association for Cultural Freedom, successor to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, for financial aid.

After public revelations in 1967 that the CCF had been bankrolled since its inception by the American CIA as part of its Cold War global struggle against communism, the CCF suffered an image crisis.[14] To minimise damage to the organisation's reputation the CCF's official position was that executive director Michael Josselson, who resigned after the *exposé*, had taken CIA money 'without the knowledge of any of his colleagues'. However, the connections were not simply coincidental or individual. From its formation in 1950, the vast array of CCF operations were subject to manipulation and orchestration by CIA operatives and sympathisers as a central plank in America's strategy to win over what the Agency described as the 'non-communist Left' internationally in support of American interests. At least two dozen of the organisation's leading figures were aware of the CIA's involvement in the CCF, a link one CIA insider described as 'a pretty open secret'.[15]

Many of the organisation's supporters abandoned it in disgust at their betrayal by the CCF's leadership. It was a particular blow for the more liberal minded members in the Third World who had sought a middle path through the Cold War. Jayaprakash Narayan, chair of the Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom and a Gandhian democratic socialist, for example, wrote in June 1967, 'It is inconceivable for me how any one who believed in freedom, in the open society, in the moral correspondence between means and ends, could have thought it proper to accept funds from an agency of international espionage'. His compatriot K.K. Sinha resigned declaring 'Had I any idea … that there was a time bomb concealed in the Paris headquarters, I would not have touched the Congress'.[16]

In September 1967, to extricate itself, the organisation declared that it no longer received CIA money, and that since October 1966, the Ford Foundation (which had long been one of its benefactors) had been the sole financier.[17] CCF loyalists decided to reform as the International Association for Cultural Freedom (IACF), with evidently few changes in its activities and aims.[18] John Hunt, a CIA case officer appointed to the CCF as Josselson's assistant in 1956, continued with the IACF until the end of 1968 after which he was awarded his CIA service medal in Paris. (Josselson's wife was presented with his CIA service medal posthumously at his funeral in 1978.)[19]

Mochtar remained loyal to the organisation which had, after all, facilitated the publication of *Twilight in Jakarta* and stood by him during his detention. He rejected, and was highly offended by, any imputation that he might have knowingly colluded with the CIA (and there is no such implication here). He believed sincerely that the majority of the organisation's members had been ignorant of, and uninfluenced by, the CIA connection. However, while Mochtar may have remained unaware of the CIA's continuing interest in the CCF and its remnants, as Hunt later acknowledged to Saunders, 'behind the scenes there was a bitter contest between the British, French and American secret services to secure leadership of the organization', with the new president and chief executive Shepard Stone having an entire career 'littered with [US] intelligence connections'.[20]

Mochtar was elevated to the Executive Board of the new IACF, which promised members no further CIA funding would be accepted. In practice, his involvement

was limited, amounting to twice-yearly board meetings, occasional conferences, and administrative correspondence.[21] However, the connection proved beneficial as the IACF agreed to provide the Indonesia Foundation with an annual subsidy for *Horison* of around US$10,000. Like a string of well-known periodicals around the world, *Horison* was thus drawn under the IACF's financial mantle.[22] Support continued until 1977, when its Paris headquarters closed, two years before the IACF officially dissolved itself in January 1979. In his biography of CCF director Shepard Stone, Berghahn described the organisation's affiliated periodicals in Europe during the 1950s as 'characterized by an ideological position that rejected all forms of extremism, whether of the right or left. Their anticommunism was not dogmatic, but favored dialogue'. They 'were united not only in their vision of an antitotalitarian society, but also in their pro-Americanism'.[23] A similar assessment might be levelled at *Horison*, though, while the magazine did occasionally publish material mildly critical of the methods used by the New Order in eliminating the Left, it displayed little inclination towards dialogue with the communists. Its opposition to communism was resolute and unwavering, a position which predated and outlived its IACF funding.

Horison quickly established itself – along with the Jakarta Cultural Centre, Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) – as one of 'the two leading institutions in Indonesian intellectual/artistic life' in Indonesia.[24] After its first decade, however, *Horison* had begun to wane. Sales were declining along with public and artistic interest, resulting in a dearth of material from those contributors of national calibre who had initially written for the magazine. Even Mochtar himself, who in the early years, in addition to his responsibilities as editor, had published a steady trickle of short stories, essays and even a drama, *Pangeran Wiraguna* [Prince Wiraguna][25] in *Horison*, was generally only contributing the quasi-editorial 'Cultural Notes' column by the mid 1970s.[26] From that time onwards on average, he spent only a couple of days a month on *Horison* business, dropping in occasionally to cast an eye over its crowded central Jakarta office, and generally oversee operations, leaving the daily tasks to others. This was a pattern he was to maintain, stepping in decisively only if a crisis loomed. H.B. Jassin still assessed manuscripts submitted, but early supporters on the Advisory Board, such as Umar Kayam, Fuad Hassan and M.T. Zen, had become largely inactive.[27] Younger staff, such as short story writer Hamsad Rangkuti, did most of the routine work, receiving a small retainer.

In 1971, two publications opened which, though very different to *Horison*, provided new outlets for quality writing of various styles. The news weekly *Tempo*, under Goenawan Mohamad assisted by artist and journalist colleagues, featured short topical essays. The intellectual monthly journal, *Prisma*, provided a more prestigious outlet than *Horison* for longer analytical essays on the social sciences. With the increasing sophistication of the commercial press, quality daily papers, like *Kompas*, also became vehicles for more reflective, analytical essays. Together with an increasing number of attractively presented popular magazines, such commercial publications enticed short story writers with higher honorariums, more efficient management and editorial processes,

Mochtar Lubis speaking at a seminar in Jakarta, 1981. (Photo: David T. Hill)

and the popularity that comes with wider circulation. *Horison* faltered against such competition.[28]

The magazine was criticised by some literary critics as having failed to maintain its position as a literary trendsetter.[29] Young poets claimed individual editors exercised too much control over the material published.[30] The frequency of essays on literary criticism, contemporary social or philosophical issues declined. The 'Cultural Chronicle' column, which detailed recent cultural events or developments, disappeared as the magazine lost its immediacy and topicality, relying mainly on short stories.

Mochtar Lubis and the editorial team made various attempts to broaden the content of the journal and boost its appeal. In 1979, Mochtar stressed in the monthly 'Cultural Notes' column that *Horison* was widening its own horizons to 'wipe out the limits on thought or study and to abolish the boundaries on the possibilities of our creative energies in all fields of national life'.[31] It was a call to diversify the magazine's contents, to include ideas on 'urban and rural problems, education, economic development, the future, the environment, ecological protection' and other problems. But the call went largely unheeded and the contents of the magazine changed little, despite thoughtful editorials by Mochtar on such diverse topics as artists and social conscience, science and technology, the Indonesian film industry, ecological balance and the 'Challenges of the 1980s'. By the end of the 1970s, *Horison* was in a rut.

Arief Budiman's return from eight years doctoral study abroad in early 1981 proved a catalyst for regeneration. A meeting at Mochtar Lubis's Bonang Street home in January 1982 appointed Arwah Setiawan, former editor of the humour

magazine, *Astaga*, to redesign and revive the flagging journal.[32] The four major sponsors – *Sinar Harapan, Kompas, Tempo* and *Femina*, – were approached for substantial donations (of about Rp 7.5 million each) to enable *Horison* to increase honorariums and improve its appearance. Top editorial staff from *Sinar Harapan* and *Femina* (namely Aristides Katoppo and Sofyan Alisyahbana) joined long time members Goenawan Mohamad (chief editor of *Tempo*) and Jakob Oetama (chief editor of *Kompas*) on the advisory board of *Horison*.[33] In August 1982, along with the unveiling of the 'new look' *Horison*, printed by 'off-set' on quality paper with full colour cover, the Indonesia Foundation began promoting the magazine with a series of seminars, cosponsored by various donors, with the first, on the Role of Literature in Social Change, at *Kompas*.

The magazine's relaunching came at a time when literature was capturing greater public interest as recently released leftist writers, most notably Pramoedya Ananta Toer, long imprisoned since 1965, were beginning to publish again. *Horison*'s second seminar, on Socialist Realism and Universal Humanism, cosponsored by *Tempo* on 26 October 1982, revealed how deep antagonism for LEKRA still was among the artists clustered around *Horison*.[34] The magazine's refurbishment had regained the attention of the Jakarta artistic community. *Horison*'s editorial rhetoric presented the magazine as a vibrant, open forum, but ideological tensions were apparent at its heart between those who sought to revive the anti-LEKRA editorial line and those who wanted to be more open to former political prisoners who had once been LEKRA members, those who (to echo Berghahn's description of the IACF's European publications) were not dogmatic in their anticommunism, but 'favored dialogue'. Mochtar tended to remain aloof from public condemnation of former LEKRA members, but the influence of anticommunists, such as poet Abdul Hadi WM, led the journal to refight the polemics of the early 1960s against voiceless opponents. Despite the influence of people like Arief Budiman, who had drawn close to many of ex-LEKRA writers, the magazine remained a bulwark against the Left.

The magazine struggled on for another decade until it was again seeking stronger financial support from willing partners. In *Horison*'s June 1993 'Cultural Notes' editorial, Mochtar announced enthusiastically that from the forthcoming issue, *Horison* was to be published by 'Goenawan Mohamad and friends and the publishers of *Tempo*' to whom, 'we can only express our boundless thanks and respect … for their agreement in doing this'. He expressed his 'confidence they will succeed well'.[35] The marriage between the Indonesia Foundation and PT Grafiti, the company behind Goenawan Mohamad's very successful *Tempo* newsweekly magazine, soured very quickly soon after the Goenawan group published its first new-look *Horison* in July. Acting on behalf of the Indonesia Foundation, Mochtar declared a 'crisis of confidence' in Goenawan, arguing the *Tempo* group had acted precipitously, because (despite Mochtar's announcement in the June *Horison*) the accord was not fully signed off. Mochtar rescinded the agreement in what had become a very public, vitriolic clash, as much due to the strength of the personalities involved as to any procedural irregularities. The Indonesia Foundation brought out a combined July–August

edition, disowning the *Tempo*-initiated July *Horison* and publishing selective correspondence which revealed at the very least lax organisational management within the *Horison* camp and the extraordinary depth of antipathy between the former colleagues.

The final pages of the next double issue for September and October 1993 further exposed the rancour and bitterness – and the isolated position in which Mochtar had found himself with regard to most other founding members of the magazine and of the Indonesia Foundation. The magazine ran a full page letter from Goenawan Mohamad in which he refuted Mochtar's claims and declared (in an obvious swipe at Mochtar) that he had learned one valuable lesson: 'not everyone who likes sounding off about democracy, opposing [the government's obligatory] publication permits, the necessity for dialogue, etc., ultimately will behave in accordance with their talk, when their ego or their power is at stake'.[36] Mochtar's unilateral decision – or more particularly, his evident lack of consultation with colleagues and founding members of the *Horison* group – triggered a rash of resignations from Goenawan Mohamad, Ali Audah, Arief Budiman, Umar Kayam, Aristides Katoppo and Sapardi Djoko Damono, leaving Mochtar an abandoned minority with the poet Taufiq Ismail and the inactive H.B. Jassin. An announcement on the inside back cover of the magazine, a black page with white lettering, expressed 'thanks and appreciation' to the departees for their contributions 'from the inaugural edition to the moment they resigned' over Mochtar's signature. Mochtar strove to put the best possible spin on the fiasco, describing it publicly as an opportunity to infuse new blood through younger staff. He declared flamboyantly that he felt an 'obligation and responsibility to go to any lengths to ensure that *Horison* can survive, even if in the impoverished state it has been in till now'.[37]

The meltdown reflected the strength of personalities and the similarities between Mochtar and Goenawan. Both were seasoned journalists and editors, used to piloting their own publications, each indelibly imprinted with their particular personalities. Both had strong cultural and literary credentials, and staunchly loyal supporters and admirers of their artistic and journalistic achievements. Behind their easy-going, jovial exteriors, both were steely and determined, with hard-earned reputations and political nous. Politically, though they were a generation apart, they were both regarded broadly as 'democratic socialists' in the Syahririan tradition. Their politics had been similar in the 1960s, with the young Goenawan, who had been central to the drawing up and circulating of the 1963 'Cultural Manifesto', subsequently benefiting – like Mochtar – from CCF largesse. In Goenawan's case, it was a scholarship to study at the *Collège d'Europe* in Belgium just prior to Indonesia's political crisis of 1965.

On balance, Goenawan was the more pensive intellectual and sophisticated political analyst. Though initially a staunch supporter of the New Order and an admirer of Mochtar, he was flexible enough to embrace former LEKRA artists as part of a re-evaluation of Indonesia's cultural history. During a fellowship at Monash University, Melbourne, in 1988 he had written a personal reassessment of the politics surrounding the Cultural Manifesto and the 1964–65 clashes with

LEKRA, displaying a rare sensitivity and capacity to reflect critically upon both his personal role and the overarching politics of the time.[38] While Mochtar remained a committed anticommunist, Goenawan refused to see the world in stark Left-Right polarities and employed several former political prisoners in *Tempo* at a time when this was a risky stance.

While *Horison* struggled on, eventually gaining government funding, in 1994, Goenawan and his supporters established the prestigious journal *Kalam* [Pen], which quickly established itself as the more contemporary, intellectual outlet for longer essays and theoretical thought-pieces, exploring more innovative and adventurous analyses of culture and the arts. The biannual journal attracted to its editorial board some of the country's most impressive younger generation intellectuals and artists, including Nirwan Dewanto and Ayu Utami, together with senior figures like University of Indonesia academic Sapardi Djoko Damono. Often with one eye on global intellectual fashions like postmodernism or deconstruction, *Kalam*'s ideological positioning contrasted to the political retrospection of *Horison.* While *Kalam* explored new Leftist movements in Asia, including, for example, a contribution by Leftist Indonesian exile Waruno Mahdi, *Horison* reprised memoirs of staunch anticommunists like Wiratmo Soekito, Taufiq Ismail, and Ikranagara.[39] *Kalam* soon dominated the more sophisticated urban and younger academic readership, leaving *Horison* to lead in other markets, in particular school students and teachers.

In subsequent years, various strategies have been attempted to keep *Horison* afloat. At the turn of the new century, together with literary magazines in Malaysia and Brunei, *Horison* was inserting a regular 32-page common supplement called *Mastera* produced by the Southeast Asia Literary Council, showcasing writings from across Malay- and Indonesian-speaking countries of the region. In addition, under an agreement struck with the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture, *Horison* also included a special 28-page supplement, *Kakilangit* [Horizon], directed at school students and teachers in state and religious schools across the country. From 1999 to 2002 the insert was sponsored by the Education Department as part of an integrated program dubbed 'Reading, Writing and Literary Appreciation' to stimulate greater interest in, and appreciation for, literature in young people. Bulk orders of the magazine were distributed to educational institutions across the country, paid for by the government. In addition, the supplement, which featured background essays about Indonesian literature, and short stories, poems and reviews by students themselves, was designed to cultivate a new *Horison* readership amongst the young.[40] Magazine staff pioneered a comprehensive strategy of associated activities, such as national educational tours by authors, visiting schools to read and answer students' questions. By 2006, the print run of the magazine was 12,000, of which 9,000 were for the Department of Education subscription, and only 3,000 – the same as when *Horison* was first launched forty years before – were sold to the public.[41]

Despite such innovative promotional strategies, the inheriting of the magazine by a younger generation of editors, and festive celebrations for *Horison*'s 40th anniversary at TIM in January 2007, the journal itself is a shadow of

its former glory. No longer the 'gatekeeper' of Indonesian literature, it has been largely relegated to the nation's literary sidelines.[42] This is partly because artistic activity in Indonesia – even in Jakarta – is now much more diverse than during the middle years of the New Order. The Jakarta Arts Centre, TIM, has declined in prominence. New facilities and associated constellations of artists, like Goenawan Mohamad's Utan Kayu Community, have captured the creative and political initiative from state-sponsored venues and institutions. More prestigious venues have been renovated and re-equipped, like the Jakarta Arts Building [*Gedung Kesenian Jakarta*] giving artists and performers a wider choice of locations. Similarly, for writers the proliferation of commercial entertainment magazines and newspapers provides diverse, often well-paying, outlets for fiction. Innovative quality literary and cultural journals like *Kalam*, or their Internet-based equivalents, like *Cybersastra* or *Kunci*, which embrace new cultural studies theories, have stolen the march on *Horison*.[43] Ironically, while the *Kakilangit* supplement for school students has succeeded in making *Horison* more financially secure, it may have simultaneously rendered it less appealing for older readers and intellectuals. As its editions for October 1995 (discussing protests against Pramoedya receiving the Magsaysay Award that July and Mochtar returning his Magsaysay Award in disgust) and August 2006 (featuring the death of Pramoedya Ananta Toer in April) both demonstrated, the magazine maintained its decidedly anticommunist stance at a time when, with the fall of Suharto and the consequent re-examination of Indonesia's political history, many young Indonesians were becoming much more aware of the Left's contribution to their literary past.

Taman Ismail Marzuki and artists' organisations

In the first years of the New Order, Jakarta's energetic governor (then Major General) Ali Sadikin responded enthusiastically to requests by the artistic community for a mechanism to facilitate (and regulate) certain aspects of artistic production. Artists who supported the change in political regime sought his backing for a cultural centre and a national artists' council overseeing it. The concept harmonised with his burgeoning vision of a modern, efficient metropolis, rivalling other international capitals, yet preserving its artistic identity. Ali Sadikin, with his practical drive, modernising zeal and interest in cultural life, impressed both young artists, like Goenawan Mohamad, who were at the forefront of the push for the cultural centre, as well as senior figures, like Mochtar Lubis. Ali Sadikin was, for many, an exemplar of the potential they envisaged, in the early New Order years, for rapid social transformation and development, with military officers working closely with civilians to modernise the state, the society and the economy.[44]

The first step in fulfilling the artists' requests was the establishment on 3 July 1968 of the Jakarta Arts Council [*Dewan Kesenian Jakarta*, DKJ], a triennial 25-member body which had, among its responsibilities, the supervision of the Jakarta Arts Centre, Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM), officially opened by Ali Sadikin

on 10 November 1968.[45] Located in central Jakarta's Cikini Raya Street in the former grounds of the city zoo, TIM bore the identifiable imprint of the governor. The centre was unrivalled nationally in its facilities, organisational support structure and its (initially relatively generous) regular funding from the Jakarta provincial government. The grounds and food stalls of TIM, adjoining the Jakarta Art Academy (later 'Institute') [*Lembaga Pendidikan/Institut Kesenian Jakarta*, LPKJ/IKJ] another Sadikin-backed project established in 1970, became a convivial meeting place for the artistic community. On the boundary between the affluence of the former colonial 'garden suburb' of Menteng and the densely packed ramshackle kampungs that run alongside the clogged Ciliwung River, TIM quickly became a thriving hub of artistic activity, the venue for nationally applauded performances and exhibitions and the cultural centrepiece of the capital.

At the pinnacle of this activity was the Jakarta Academy [*Akademi Jakarta*, AJ], constituted in 1970 as an elite honorary body consisting of ten prominent cultural figures who had shown a 'constant dedication' to art and culture and who, at the time of their life-membership appointment, had reached the age of 40. The original members were Takdir Alisjahbana (as chairperson), Mochtar Lubis and educationalist Mohammad Said Reksohadioprodjo (as joint deputy chairpersons), H.B. Jassin, Soedjatmoko, film makers Asrul Sani and D. Djajakusuma, artists Popo Iskandar, Rusli and Affandi.[46] Elevation to the new Jakarta Academy signified that Mochtar Lubis had reached the peak of the national artistic Establishment. Young artists like Goenawan Mohamad and Arief Budiman had lobbied for the establishment of the Academy so it could protect the independence of the Arts Council against possible future interference from the Governor's office.[47] The Academy was given the power to draw up, for the Governor's ratification, the list of members for the triennial Arts Council. In turn, the Academy was responsible both to the Arts Council and to the Governor of Jakarta and was to function as a liaison between artists and government. Along with most on the Academy, Mochtar Lubis enjoyed an excellent working relationship with Ali Sadikin (later even writing the foreword to the governor's memoirs).[48]

As an Academy member, Mochtar Lubis could stand above the day-to-day affairs of the cultural centre, which were supervised by the Arts Council (through its Executive Council [*Dewan Pekerja Harian*]), while still exerting formative influence on the general direction of policy and implementation through the regular selection of the Council members. For such members of the Jakarta artistic community, the politics of culture had freed up after pre-1965 tensions. Artists like Mochtar Lubis could work closely with the authorities and within a few short years realise the tangible achievements of a funded and effective artists' organisation and an enviable physical infrastructure.

The relationship between the Arts Council and the Jakarta Municipal Council (DKI) ran far less smoothly after Ali Sadikin left the governorship in 1977. His successors for the remainder of the New Order had far less attachment to TIM and its constituency, and more desire to rein in artists, who had enjoyed considerable political latitude under Ali Sadikin. In December 1979, for example,

Governor (Lieutenant General) Cokropranolo (1977–82) refused to inaugurate members of an incoming Jakarta Arts Council, because the Academy declined to incorporate Municipal Council nominees. The Academy felt the Governor's office was interfering in the artistic community's independence. However, TIM and the Arts Council relied upon government subsidies and technically, while the Academy had the right to formulate the list of names, installing the Council was the Governor's prerogative.[49] The incumbent Arts Council remained in place until February 1981 when the frustrated DKJ Executive Council resigned *en masse* and returned its brief to the Academy, which asked deputy chairperson Mochtar Lubis and the painter Rusli, to take over *ad interim*. For the next year Mochtar and others in the Academy were involved in protracted negotiations with the Municipal Council. Mochtar suspected the Governor's office was stalling to factionalise the TIM community and ultimately dismantle the Academy.

Mochtar Lubis's role as an elder statesman and mediator in the cultural politics of Jakarta was by no means universally popular. During 1981 and 1982 younger artists protested at TIM against the artistic 'Establishment' represented by the DKJ and the AJ, which the critics felt were neglecting their responsibilities to foster young artists and encourage a conducive climate for the creative arts.[50] There were calls for the Academy to be disbanded. Senior figures like Mochtar were accused of being out of touch with recent artistic developments, because they rarely attended performances at TIM and were frequently overseas. These young artists claimed that Mochtar was a conservative and restraining influence upon artistic experiment and change. Mochtar, who felt the Governor was seeking an excuse to install a more pliant Academy, acknowledged privately that his many other duties left him little time to attend TIM, but stressed he did get periodic reports.[51]

Eventually, the Governor agreed to withdraw his nominees for the Arts Council but two former 'New Order' ministers – Boediardjo, a former naval officer, diplomat, and Minister of Information (1968–73) with an interest in traditional Javanese arts and Mukti Ali, former Minister of Religious Affairs (1971–78) – were appointed to vacant positions on the Jakarta Academy.[52] On 25 February 1982, the new Arts Council, whose composition was widely regarded as a compromise, was inaugurated by the Governor after a political security check on all members.[53] Symbolic of his increasingly divided responsibilities, despite his pivotal role in negotiating a settlement with the Governor, Mochtar was absent attending instead a Seoul board meeting of the Press Foundation of Asia, of which he was Director General.

Criticisms of Mochtar Lubis, his colleagues in the Academy and the Arts Council, arose largely from the generation which had emerged after the establishment of the artistic bureaucracy. For such younger figures, the primary tension was between what they regarded as 'cultural bureaucrats' in the Arts Council together with ageing absentee eminents in the Academy, and an emerging younger band of practising artists. As Mochtar Lubis saw it, such disputes were not about the principles of art or ideological differences, but about management styles.[54] For younger critics like the painter Hardi, there was 'a kind of

generation gap, a communication gap, a gap of vision and gaps like these seriously endanger creative expansion'. The Academy members were unable to appreciate contemporary creativity for 'time has changed making [them] no longer attentive and sensitive to new symptoms'.[55]

As an elder statesman of the arts, Mochtar Lubis faced other pressures from within the community centred at TIM. Among the more overtly religious Muslim artists, such as poets Abdul Hadi or Taufiq Ismail, animosity for the Left remained palpable, as was the desire to caution younger activists against flirting with 'Neo-LEKRAism'.[56] While Mochtar believed sincerely that he had been a victim of LEKRA and was convinced that 'if the opportunity should arise, [and the former Communists] get power in their hands, they would also kill us', he presented himself as a moderating influence at TIM, arguing he 'tried to be open-minded about the return of the communist writers and artists into the society [...] And since I was asked to take care of Taman Ismail Marzuki temporarily, I felt if they wanted to come there, we must welcome them'.[57]

There was little welcome given, however, since the government pressured TIM management to refrain from inviting former LEKRA members. While Mochtar may have tried privately to maintain his long acquaintance with artists like Pramoedya, he was publicly unsympathetic to Pramoedya when the latter's books were banned by the New Order. From 1980, Pramoedya had doggedly published a string of major works written during his incarceration, only to have them banned by the Attorney General and confiscated by the authorities. Asked abroad in 1982 about his personal attitude to Pramoedya's lack of freedom of expression, Mochtar replied indirectly that 'even if I was in power, I would not permit communist propaganda in Indonesia'.[58] While he may not have been in government, Mochtar was in some senses 'in power', in that his authority as a leading member of the artistic Establishment enabled him to facilitate or impede access by former LEKRA artists to institutions like TIM. It was not an advantage he was inclined frequently to extend to his ideological opponents.

Mochtar Lubis and those artists supported by Ali Sadikin during the early New Order had succeeded in establishing a physical and organisational infrastructure, in TIM, the Arts Council and the Academy, to foster their vision for the arts in Jakarta, as a showcase for the nation. In his role in the Academy, Mochtar demonstrated his skills as a mediator at times of tension. By the early 1980s, he was striving to maintain the integrity of those structures assailed by internal criticism, and to retain their autonomy in the face of government pressures. Mochtar remained a prominent figure in the Academy, assuming the position of Chair on the death of Takdir Alisjahbana in 1994, and retaining this position until 2000, when declining health obliged him to withdraw from public life. Throughout much of this time, the Academy's periodic meetings were held at his home in Bonang Road.

Clashes with the Governor's office continued periodically. In 1998, when Mochtar was already suffering health problems, the Governor appointed eight members to the Arts Council without the approval of the Academy. Mochtar was furious and privately threatened to resign, although he was dissuaded. The winds

of political change which swept Suharto from power in May 1998 also rippled through the artistic community. There were demonstrations again calling for inactive members of the Academy to step down and be replaced; other protests called for the dismantling of the Academy entirely and its replacement by an 'artists' deliberation' [*musyawarah seniman*]. It was clear that the role and composition of the Academy needed to change. Following a suggestion from Mochtar's close friend, respected author Ramadhan KH, who had been appointed to the Academy in 1997, the entire membership and operating principles of the Academy were revamped. Formalised by decree of the Governor in 2002, membership was expanded from 10 to 27 with appointment reduced from life to five years with possibilities for extension. Mochtar remained a member – albeit inactive – of the Academy until his death two years later, outlived by only one other founding member: the painter Rusli, who died the following year.

Indonesian Obor foundation

After his release in 1966, Mochtar Lubis became good friends with American Ivan Kats, who had left his position in the CCF prior to the CIA revelations. During the late 1960s, Kats expressed his concern in discussions with several Indonesian friends, including Mochtar Lubis, P.K. Ojong and Soedjatmoko, at the many important foreign books unavailable in Indonesian. In 1970, together they formed the Obor publishing enterprise to translate such significant works in the social sciences for Indonesian readers.

Obor (*Torch*) was established as a network with a New York State headquarters, Obor Incorporated, registered as a public charity, governed by an international Board of Trustees, on which Mochtar Lubis sat.[59] Mochtar also headed the Indonesian wing, the Indonesian Obor Foundation [*Yayasan Obor Indonesia* YOI], which was incorporated in Indonesia in 1975. At the planning stages, Mochtar gained the support of Foreign Minister Adam Malik, who facilitated approaches to influential overseas contacts. Mochtar and Kats approached Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands who became Obor's Patron.[60] Domestically, many friends from *Horison*'s Indonesia Foundation joined Mochtar in Obor, including Arief Budiman, Goenawan Mohamad, Fuad Hassan, Taufiq Ismail, Umar Kayam and M.T. Zen.[61]

Obor sought to provide translations of two categories of foreign (usually English language) works: books and articles about Indonesia, and works making a significant contribution to world thinking on contemporary social problems. The foundation selected relevant material for both university students and the general public, including volumes of collected essays on government and politics, transmigration, women's rights, economics, industrial development and science and technology.

Funding for this 'modestly sized philanthropy', as Kats called it, came from numerous supporting institutions, including various foundations (such as Ford and smaller German and Dutch agencies), church, and academic bodies and – once again – the International Association for Cultural Freedom. Early corporate donors

included some of the major multinationals then involved in extractive operations in Indonesia, such as Freeport Indonesia, International Nickel Corporation, Mobil Oil Corporation, Shell Nederland; and other multinationals such as Philip Morris. Individuals from International Nickel Corporation and Mobil Oil Corporation accepted seats on the International Board of Trustees, along with American, Canadian and Dutch academics. While some Indonesian corporate donors, such as PT Astra, contributed, it took considerable time to build domestic funding sources.[62] As YOI persevered, establishing a firm reputation as a quality small publisher, the circle of organisations with which it collaborated broadened until, by the time of Mochtar's passing, the list – local and international – was as extensive as it was diverse.[63]

During the early years, however, Ivan Kats played most of the crucial roles in Obor, negotiating most funding, and, during the initial stages, selecting titles for translation, many of which (as he put it) were 'naturals', such as E.F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*.[64] Increasingly, suggestions for titles came from YOI's Indonesian committee which sought sponsors for specific titles. When asked whether funding sources influenced the selection of titles, Mochtar Lubis asserted that YOI exercised full control over the choice of publications and, if unsuccessful in attracting sponsorship for books they were determined to publish, they would occasionally fund titles from YOI's capital reserves.[65] Until YOI was strong enough to publish independently, it arranged copyright clearance, translation and editing of manuscripts, then offered them to commercial publishers.

While the Indonesian Obor Foundation was always theoretically an independent arm of Obor Incorporated, the devolution of control proved problematical. Some Indonesians felt that, having established Obor, Kats was reluctant to relinquish his influence over it. From around 1977, friction between Kats and Indonesian staff over policy and implementation led to tensions and disputes and contributed to resignations from the Indonesian operation. Despite Mochtar's occasional lack of success in resolving such tensions, personally he regarded YOI as one of his most satisfying ventures. Its development reflected Mochtar's shifting horizons. His interest in the day-to-day issues of national politics was gradually giving way, especially after the closure of *Indonesia Raya*, to longer-term global concerns such as environmental protection, cultural transformation and relations between the First and the Third Worlds. Nurtured by his personal contacts and experiences abroad, particularly during various stays in the 1970s at the Aspen Institute of Humanistic Studies, these concerns were both stimulated by, and expressed through, Obor. The publication list and Mochtar's introductions to Obor translations reflected the global and cultural politics Mochtar was exploring. These commitments were not entirely new to the 1970s but were extensions of long-held beliefs, reinforced by his contacts with intellectual currents abroad.

In 1982, for example, YOI's list of 47 titles in print was divided into eight areas: civility and ethics; religion, language and logic; the environment and the earth's resources; poverty; social dimensions of history; economics; anthropology and politics; and introductions to foreign cultures (five of the six titles in this last category were by Japanese authors).[66] Mochtar's long-standing concerns were

evident, for example, in *The Ethics of Public Servants* [*Etika Pegawai Negeri*], a reader about corruption and ethics which he coedited with Yale political scientist James C. Scott and for which he wrote the introduction.[67] His own developing interest in ecology and a just utilisation of resources, which was particularly stimulated by international gatherings on these issues which he attended in the early 1970s, was clear in YOI translations of milestones of the environmentalist movement.[68] The 13 books in the 'Environment and the Earth's Resources' category of the 1982 Obor list made it the largest of the eight categories. Titles included not only Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*, but also Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos's *Only One Earth* [*Hanya Satu Bumi*, 1974], Lester Brown's *By Bread Alone* [*Dengan sesuap Nasi*, 1977], and Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich's *The End of Affluence* [*Berakhirnya Masa Kelimpahmewahan*, 1981].

The Ehrlichs' critique of the West's consumption practices urged the First World to adopt the ethic of 'simpler living'. Mochtar's preface was similarly critical of the developed nations and the 'ruling elite [in the developing countries, which] unites its self-interests with the interests of the governments and the industries of the large world powers'.[69] He concluded his introduction, entitled 'The Rich Countries Have to Change Themselves First', with a long quotation translated from a 1973 speech he gave to the Aspen Institute in Colorado. In it, he warned that the 'advanced countries and the developing countries have entered a collision course'. He told his American audience that to avert disaster, it is important that 'we pool our thoughts, and we open the channels of communication between us as widely as possible, because in this way we can change our old attitudes which are no longer appropriate to the demands of the problems which we face'. The key lay in the cultural values of the individual and 'how we can equip mankind with cultural values required, so it can continue to control science and technology and continue to control political powers and the other large powers which it holds'.[70]

Mochtar's advice reflected his love of nature, his desire for global harmony and an optimistic, almost spiritual, belief in individual change as the key to progress when he wrote:

> we have to learn to adopt a more humanitarian attitude to each other, in relations between nations, between governments, between organisations, between companies and individuals and we also have to learn to adopt a more humane attitude with birds, with fauna, with flowers and trees, with rivers, lakes, forests and oceans … Can we learn to love all these as we love ourselves?'[71]

Mochtar sought to overcome the chaos, conflict and confrontation he identified in the world political and economic order, though cultural and moral learning rather than political action.

By making available key works in the 'simple living' and environmental movements abroad, YOI contributed to the expanding discussion within Indonesia on such issues. In 1980, YOI also published Mochtar's *Berkelana Dalam Rimba* [Wandering in the Jungle], an adventure tale for children, designed to arouse

an appreciation of nature.[72] That year Mochtar also wrote the lyrics of several songs for the popular band Trio Bimbo about the extinction of Indonesia's endangered species.[73] Together with M.T. Zen, another driving force in YOI, Mochtar Lubis also supported the establishment of the environmental organisation Green Indonesia Foundation [*Yayasan Indonesia Hijau*], founded in 1978 in Bogor. He assisted in obtaining some funding from the International Wildlife Fund and arranged for a notary to draw up the foundation's legal documents.[74] He declined an executive position, arguing that his involvement could hamper productive relations between the foundation and the government, but accepted honorary membership. Mochtar had a good relationship with, and considerable faith in, Emil Salim, appointed in 1978 as Indonesia's first Environment Minister. Although his department had little direct power, Emil Salim did succeed in placing environmental issues on the national agenda and shafted home much of the blame for environmental degradation in Indonesia to the First World.[75] His efforts and tactics had Mochtar's support.

Despite the open hostility towards Japanese business displayed in the second series of *Indonesia Raya*, Japan held an increasing fascination for Mochtar Lubis in the 1970s, reminiscent perhaps of the attraction of the USA in the 1950s. Mochtar wrote the introductions to two of the five titles by or about Japanese published by YOI between 1976 and 1981.[76] Sales of the books on Japan were sluggish: *Kekuatan Yang Membisu: Kepribadian Dan Peranan Jepang* [The Silent Power: Japan's Identity and Role] (1981), introduced by Mochtar Lubis and containing critical essays on Japanese political relations with other countries by Japanese scholars, proved the most popular, selling about 2,500 within a year.[77] Mochtar Lubis's introduction elaborated on the anthology's criticisms of Japanese economic domination of the Southeast Asian region, criticisms echoing *Indonesia Raya*'s editorials. Yet, while he criticised much about Japan's overseas economic practices, its existence, ideas, cultural complexity and sophistication exerted a mounting influence over his intellectual agenda after the late 1960s. In a lecture at TIM on 7 January 1982, on his return from a visit to Japan, he displayed his fascination for the cultural values that enabled the Japanese to rebuild so effectively since his first visit there on his way to Korea in 1950.[78] Frequent visits to Japan since 1966 were part of this regional figure's increasing role in international dialogue and organisations, building up close links with other like-minded Asian intellectuals.

A shared vision across Southeast Asia

Obor also linked Mochtar Lubis with somewhat comparable figures in other parts of Asia. A 1982 Obor publicity sheet stated: 'Two cultural groups long active in Southeast Asia – *Suksit Siam* in Thailand, and *Solidarity* in the Philippines – have joined *Yayasan Obor Indonesia* and *Obor Dacca* to form the Obor network. This informal fraternity of like-minded groups is able to view problems from a regional perspective and define regional projects'.[79] Suksit Siam's director Sulak Sivaraksa, and Solidarity's leader, Francisco ['Frankie'] Sionil Jose, were

long-time friends of Mochtar Lubis and had known Ivan Kats since his period with the CCF in Paris. Both headed organisations structured around bookshops with publishing interests, which had produced intellectual cultural magazines affiliated for a period with the IACF and provided a focus for seminars and discussions.

Sulak Sivaraksa (b. Bangkok, 1933), returned to Thailand with a British law degree in 1962. The following year, under the royal patronage of Prince Wan Waithyakorn, a former president of the United Nations General Assembly, he established *Sangkhomsat Parithat* [*Social Science Review*], one of Thailand's most respected intellectual journals.[80] Reminding some observers of the CCF's *Encounter* magazine, in the early years *Sangkhomsat Parithat* 'had a definite liberal, and sometimes almost royalist, orientation. It often featured articles in English by American writers, Asia Foundation officials and the like'.[81] The journal was partially assisted by the Asia Foundation,[82] and since the mid-1960s Sulak had been close to the Foundation's expatriate Bangkok representative, William Klausner, who was working to strengthen anticommunist sentiment among the Buddhist monkhood. Sulak's efforts to liberalise Thai intellectual life by revitalising the Siam Society gained the support of some American embassy staff. Benedict Anderson described 'his excellent American connections' but noted Sulak 'maintained a pointedly critical stance vis-à-vis the Americanophilia and "developmentalism" of the Sarit era [1958–63]'.[83] One younger radical, writing in *Sangkhomsat Parithat*, 'noted that for all Sulak's criticism of 'Americanism' he had nonetheless unselfconsciously adopted the American demonological conception of World Communism'.[84] By 1971, after Sulak had ceased editing the journal, *Sangkhomsat Parithat* became highly critical of Americanising institutions, particularly the Asia Foundation, and had developed into a leading intellectual mouthpiece of radical students involved in the October 1973 uprising.[85]

Sulak was an opponent of militaristic and authoritarian trends in Thai politics, while at the same time being a staunch supporter of the monarchy, a keen advocate of national cultural values and a firm believer in the Buddhist faith. In the years of the student-led democracy after 1973, he supported the democratic experiment and the Suksit Siam bookshop was raided during the 1976 military coup and its contents burnt.[86] After the coup, Sulak became far less hostile to the left and began promoting what he termed 'Buddhist Socialism'. A devout Buddhist and peace activist, he appealed to many young former leftist radicals, who were disillusioned with China and Vietnam in the late 1970s, and sought a more autochthonous model for social change.[87] Sulak remained a popular, eloquent and entertaining campus speaker and essayist, and frequent international traveller, accepting in the 1970s, for example, invitations to teach at the University of California Berkeley, Cornell University, and the University of Toronto. He was actively involved in various local and regional nongovernment organisations, maintained good links with international funding agencies. In August–September 1982, for example, he was a Rockefeller scholar-in-residence at Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, northern Italy – a luxurious villa bequeathed to the Rockefeller Foundation by Principessa della Torre e Tasso – where eminent members of the CCF had enjoyed creative retreats.[88] The previous May Mochtar

Lubis had a month-long fellowship, writing short stories for his *Bromocorah* [The Outlaw] collection.[89]

Unbowed by harassment, Sulak maintained a critical opposition to the government. In 1991, the authorities sought his arrest for *lèse majesté* once more, leading him to flee into political exile returning the following year to defend himself in court, eventually winning the case in 1995. That December in Stockholm at a ceremony in the Swedish Parliament he received the Right Livelihood Award, dubbed the Alternative Nobel Prize, for 'starting the country's indigenous NGO movement through his creation of a string of social welfare and development organisations rooted in different aspects of Thai society'.[90]

In 1965, Filipino journalist and founder of the Philippine branch of PEN, the international organisation of poets, playwrights and novelists, F. Sionil Jose (b. 1924, Rosales, Pangasinan) established Manila's Solidaridad bookshop and publishing house, with his wife Teresita. The following year he started *Solidarity*, one of the most enduring and respected intellectual 'small magazines' in the Asian region. The periodical initially received $US 8,000 from the CCF, and continued to be 'affiliated with the International Association for Cultural Freedom'.[91] After a hiatus from 1977 till 1983 it was revived with some subsequent support from Ford and other American foundations. More than any Indonesian or Thai publication, *Solidarity* circulated regionally and featured articles and literary works by leading Southeast Asians, with occasional pieces by other internationally renowned figures, such as Gunnar Myrdal, Ivan Illich, Yukio Mishima and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Its editorial board included the friends Jose, Sulak, Ivan Kats and Mochtar Lubis.[92] Following the Obor model, *Solidarity* also published a Tagalog translation of essays by Sulak on Buddhism and modernisation, Mochtar's *Indonesia: Land Under the Rainbow*, in which he 'attempted to present a popular narration of the highlights of Indonesian history' viewed through the 'Indonesian optic',[93] and a collection of essays *Literature and Liberation* (1988), with contributions by Jose, Sulak, Mochtar and two others.

After his emergence nationally as a novelist in the 1960s, Jose published widely in the Philippines and was translated abroad, including in Russia which he visited several times.[94] With more than 15 volumes of fiction and several anthologies of essays and translations, Jose is frequently described as the Philippines' most respected writer in English. He was an energetic head of the Philippines' PEN organisation, was close to the Magsaysay Foundation (receiving the Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature and Creative Communication Arts in 1980) and various foreign foundations in Manila.[95] Like both Sulak and Mochtar, the Rockefeller Foundation enabled him to spend time in Bellagio (in 1979). However, while Jose's proximity to the American embassy was suspected by some leftists, he reacted fiercely to media innuendo that he had CIA links, winning a libel action in court.[96] Among his various awards are the Philippines' National Artist Award for Literature (2001) and, more surprisingly perhaps for one associated with the CCF, the Pablo Neruda Centennial Award (2004), named after the left-wing Chilean poet and intellectual, targeted by the CCF in the mid-1960s. Yet, despite such prominence in recent decades, Jose's profile during the decades from the 1960s

to the 1980s was not as high in the Philippines as Sulak's in Thailand, nor did he attain quite the international prestige of Mochtar or Sulak, though he did spend considerable time abroad, on fellowships and at conferences.

Jose lacked Mochtar's reputation as a former political activist, whose name came to symbolise a particular style of political opposition. In 1969, he described himself as a socialist, who believed in 'political and/or physical confrontation' with the rich national oligarchies, a Marxist, who believed 'in the dignity of the individual, in the existence of God', and admitted his 'very pronounced anti-communist sentiments'.[97] He consistently opposed the Marcos martial law regime (1972–86), and long advocated land reform, which was a strong theme in *Solidarity*.[98] *Solidarity* occasionally even reprinted leftwing policy documents such as the 'Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution in the Philippines', by the underground Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which the magazine obtained after the material was captured by the military.[99] *Solidarity* played a significant role in liberal Philippine intellectual and cultural life, and displayed great variety in both the genre and political orientation of its contributions. Its contents included fiction and political and philosophical essays and a good deal of material from the legal left-wing opposition. Solidaridad bookshop, a convivial meeting place for artists, writers and foreign visitors in the former red-light and university district of Ermita, reflected a similar eclecticism in its stock. In sum, in his attitude to radical left politics Jose was closer to Sulak than Mochtar.

The personal relationships that linked the three Southeast Asians were built up over decades as their paths frequently criss-crossed as guests on cultural and literary conference circuits.[100] While Mochtar's style was strongly individualistic and he resisted any suggestion that he represented any particular Third World group, it was clear that he felt a certain solidarity and common purpose – perhaps even a kindred spirit – with both Sulak and Jose. There was, he said in the early 1980s, a kind of international intellectual community which was looking at world problems from similar standpoints, sharing common values across national boundaries, whether East or West.

Apart from their cooperation in *Obor* and *Solidarity*, Mochtar, Sulak and Jose, operating in different national political environments, present other, less tangible comparisons. They located themselves in the intellectual, non-party moderate opposition to their national governments. Sulak and Mochtar became associated with student protest movements and faced detention for such affiliations. Yet Sulak's stand was firmly antimilitary, while Mochtar, in the 1950s, supported military challenges to civilian government, and in the 1960s, commended a military-technocrat alliance. All three men had good working relations with American expatriates of various kinds (embassy staff, foundation representatives, journalists and academics) winning respect and support. Their various ventures – particularly the magazines they established – benefited from Cultural Freedom connections and American foundation funding, and they spent much time in America and other Western countries, on fellowships, conferences and lecturing tours.[101] All published extensively in English, which they spoke with

ease.[102] Sulak, like Mochtar, attracted sustained international support when he was arrested.[103] With all their differences and their various criticisms of the West, Sulak, Jose and Mochtar constituted another kind of Western cultural asset in Asia. While developing environmentalist and anticonsumerist ideas into a critique of many aspects of Western penetration of Third World societies, they also embraced a liberalism which sought conciliation, collaboration and interaction, not confrontation, with America and the First World.

New Order author

If F. Sionil Jose's authorial reputation was built upon a steady literary output, strengthening over decades, Mochtar's hangs mainly upon his two early novels: *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* domestically and *Twilight in Jakarta* internationally. He was to achieve neither the literary accolades nor the political impact with any subsequent work. Although he continued to publish till the mid-1990s, his greatest sustained period of literary productivity was ironically during his decade of detention, with both major novels published since 1966, *Harimau! Harimau!* [Tiger! Tiger!] *Maut dan Cinta* [Death and Love] drafted while confined, though published years later.

First to appear was the manuscript initially entitled *Hutan* [The Jungle], drafted in Madiun jail by 19 August 1963, revised again by that December, but not finally published with the title *Harimau! Harimau!* until 1975.[104] The novel can be read as an allegorical study of leadership in society, examining the decline of one leader and the rise of another. Within the context of the time of its composition, when Mochtar Lubis and other like-minded intellectuals were deeply concerned about Sukarno's leadership, this novel may be interpreted as exploring the replacement of a corrupt leader with a more upright one.[105] Its jungle setting and narrative style are very different from Mochtar's other novels, whether semihistorical (like *Tidak Ada Esok*, *Senja di Jakarta* and *Maut dan Cinta*) or urban (such as *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* and *Tanah Gersang*). In *Harimau! Harimau!*, he describes a rural community on the jungle's edge, drawing upon his forest ramblings during his schooling at Kayutanam, his love of nature and long-standing environmental interest.[106]

The tale tells of seven villagers collecting resin deep in the jungle as they are stalked and attacked by a marauding tiger. The group is led by Wak Katok, a mystic skilled in the arts of healing, hunting and combat and includes both his comrades and his younger students, one of whom, Buyung, has hunting and fighting skills that rival those of his mentor. When revelations emerge about Wak Katok's dark past the men's faith in his leadership is shaken. Buyung begins to assert his own authority, calling on the group to stalk and confront the tiger rather than be cowered by it. In the tussle for leadership in the shadow of the tiger, Wak Katok snaps under pressure, mortally wounding one of the men before being restrained by Buyung. The dying man warns his comrades 'before you kill the wild tiger, first kill the tiger in your own heart … Have faith in God' (p. 202). Having tethered Wak Katok as a lure to attract the tiger, Buyung despatches the

animal with one clean shot, overcoming his impulse to let the beast first kill the discredited mystic. Buyung muses on the real achievement of his ordeal: opposing tyranny and conquering his inner temptation.

Mochtar Lubis intended *Harimau! Harimau!* 'to be a subtle allegory of criticism against the abuse of power, abuse of faith of the people in a man'.[107] He acknowledged some obvious symbolism, saying Wak Katok represented Sukarno while there is something of the 'tiger' – ambition, lust and the like – in everybody. The villagers wandering lost in the forest, he likened to the people of Indonesia whose leaders were not willing to admit that they had lost their way. Mochtar examines conscience and leadership under stress, through Wak Katok and Buyung. Wak Katok is widely admired, yet his hypocrisy, superstition and immorality undermine the community's values. As Buyung ascends, more important than his hunting and shooting skills are his rationalism and principles. The turning point comes as Buyung suggests they begin to hunt the tiger, to behave like hunters, not prey, to 'seize the reins of their fate in their own hands again' (p. 140). Lest there be any doubt, he delivers the novel's homily on its penultimate page:

> Everyone is obliged to oppose tyranny wherever tyranny exists. It is wrong for people to seclude themselves, and pretend to shut their eyes to the tyranny which strikes others … [The] degree of tyranny, or the existence of tyranny cannot be measured by the distance it occurs from oneself (p. 214).

Like *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* with its agony of fear and self-doubt, *Harimau! Harimau!* can be read as an examination of the individual conscience. Nevertheless, unlike Guru Isa who copes with his fear by default, Buyung recognises his fear (and the temptation to surrender to revenge) and overcomes it with moral courage. When invited to rank his novels, Mochtar Lubis listed *Harimau! Harimau!* second only to *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*.[108] With some notable exceptions, critical response to the novel was generally favourable. In 1967, the Dutch scholar Teeuw had not been impressed by a preprint (then entitled *Hutan*) which he regarded as displaying 'a tendency to moralism on the one hand, to sensationalism on the other', bringing out 'the weakest sides both of the journalist and of the writer Mochtar Lubis'.[109] On rereading the published version he recognised its 'definite literary merits', but maintained it was 'not a really good novel, being too emphatic, explicit, and moralistic to be convincing'.[110] Although recognising Mochtar's tendency to moralise (something Mochtar had attempted to revise out of the draft after his wife's initial criticisms),[111] Satyagraha Hoerip, felt this was more subtle and controlled in *Harimau! Harimau!* than in Mochtar's previous works. He praised it as 'one of Mochtar Lubis's crowning works, even one of the best novels in Indonesian literature'.[112]

In May 1976, *Harimau! Harimau!* was awarded a one million rupiah prize for best adolescent fiction from the Foundation for Fine Books (under the aegis of the Department of Education and Culture, chaired by the Minister).[113] The author was surprised by the Department's endorsement of the novel, saying if government bureaucrats had appreciated its political themes (as the Fine Book Jury members

certainly did), they would have been less keen to encourage students to read the story.[114] Consequent government purchases for schools required a special printing of 15,000 copies, in addition to strong commercial print-runs.[115] While initially drafted with Sukarno in mind, the novel's publication soon after Mochtar's two-month detention in 1975 may have encouraged readers to see a passing allusion between Buyung's ousting of Wak Katok and the *Malari* student rebellions against the New Order government.

In Mochtar Lubis's final novel *Maut Dan Cinta* [Death and Love] (1977), he returns to the independence struggle. A 3 November 1965 entry in his diary, just after his transfer from Madiun to the Jakarta Military Prison, recorded his desire to begin a new novel or some short stories.[116] But the tumultuous events of the capital proved too strong a distraction, as he wrote in his diary nine days after he was moved to a low security house of detention in Keagungan Street on 15 February, 'I am not able to write in peace, to continue a new novel which I began last November. News about events outside is continually flowing in, taking my attention'.[117] The manuscript, provisionally entitled *Matahari menyingsing* [The Sun Rises], and three-quarters complete when he was released in 1966, was finished rather hurriedly during a three-month stay at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies in 1973.[118]

The story traces the first half of 1947, with a concluding chapter set in the 'second military action' in December 1948 and a three-paragraph epilogue describing the ultimate Dutch Transfer of Sovereignty on 27 December 1949. The novel describes the activities of Major Sadeli of the Indonesian military secret service assigned to intelligence and acquisition duties in Singapore. He enlists the assistance of 'National' Indonesian News Agency journalist, Ali Nurdin and a range of shadowy foreign characters, including Western adventurer pilots who fly supplies into the embattled capital of Jogjakarta. The 'foreign flyers who helped the struggle of the Indonesian Republic to break through the Dutch blockade' are among those to whom the novel is dedicated (p. 6).[119] Though the novel's events are fictional, the author based the story on friends' experiences and drew on recollections from his own first trip overseas in 1947 to attend a conference on Inter Asian Relations in New Delhi.[120] In the foreword he wrote: 'The deviations conducted by the Sukarno regime and the betrayal of the ideals of our nation's independence struggle by so many Indonesians at that time, drove me to write this book, not only to re-clarify for myself why our nation struggled to gain independence, but also to re-affirm dedication to the ideals of our nation's independence'.

The setting is exotic, with jaunts from Sadeli's base in Singapore around Southeast Asia to Hong Kong, Macao, Bangkok and of course, Indonesia. The characters are a stylishly international mix of Europeans, Americans, Asians, and Eurasians inhabiting the shadowy fringes of journalism, crime, military intelligence and gunrunning. One reviewer likened the novel to a James Bond adventure and the story resembles a Western popular spy or war-adventure tale with an Indonesian hero.[121] Sadeli is cast in the mould of the traditional heroic figure of the *satria* [knight, noble warrior], the personification of 'Good' opposing 'Evil'. The major believes Indonesia's future will be in the hands of the '*satria*

who hold the weapons', for 'it is they who will later become the leaders, the cadres and the soldiers of our armed forces, the apparatus of our country, our journalists, our authors, our artists. They are the guarantee of the continuation of the principles of our revolution!' (p. 47). An exemplar of the intellectual military officer, Sadeli is skilled as a spy, a successful negotiator with foreigners (among whom he is an equal) and an understanding superior and counsellor to his men. Well-read and contemplative, he epitomises the benevolent army officer Mochtar Lubis envisaged as playing a leadership role in Indonesian society. He is (in the words of one reviewer) Mochtar's 'prototype of the ideal Indonesian man'.[122]

The major characters of the novel are educated, privileged Indonesian military officers enlisting the help of foreign sympathisers and adventurers. Sadeli's view of Indonesia's future is of an elite-led modernisation. Class conflict in Indonesia is seen as inconsequential with America held up as a positive example of the achievements of capitalism. According to Sadeli, Marxism is obsolete, because 'the labouring class now holds a very strong position, in fact, in the United States of America for example, it can be said to have the same degree of strength as the capitalists. In Indonesia now, there are no landlords in the sense of the kind of landlords there are in Egypt, Iran, or other countries. Neither are there Indonesians who could be called capitalists. So we can establish social justice easier, because there is almost no conflict of class interests'(p. 26).

Sadeli's nationalism is tempered by an apprehension about the dangers of chauvinism and xenophobia. He asks rhetorically, 'Nowadays, doesn't a good nationalist have to be a good internationalist too?' (p. 132) Voicing sentiments that were enshrined in the February 1950 *Gelanggang* Group's Declaration of Beliefs, a key statement of principles by Indonesia's noncommunist artists, Sadeli declares that, as Indonesians, '[we] are the heirs of World Culture' (p. 137).

The novel's anticommunism is more a product of the circumstances of its composition rather than the period in which the narrative is set. One can imagine Mochtar writing in jail in 1965 of Sadeli's hopes in early 1947 that '[on] the soil of an independent Indonesia, let there never be places of political exile like Boven Digul or jails for holding political prisoners … Let people who have different religions or political convictions never be hunted down'. It seems anachronistic when Sadeli adds immediately – more than a year prior to the Madiun Affair and nearly two decades before the events of October 1965 – 'Oh, except for the communists of course, whom we have to reject, because they are part of the international communist movement!' (p. 50). Such a comment reflects an author, who attributed his imprisonment without trial to Communist machinations, writing with the New Order government's interpretation of the events of October 1965 firmly in mind. Almost without exception when commenting on communism the major characters express hostility, arguing communists cannot be nationalists. Communism is denounced as 'an international movement which wants to subjugate the entire world' (p. 17). Sadeli's contact in British intelligence in Singapore warns him against 'a new great danger – aggressive international communism' (p. 34). Even while battling against the immediate Dutch enemy, the

ideological struggle is against the international adversary Communism, depicted as an alien contagion, insidiously menacing the Republic.

The final chapter and the brief epilogue illustrate this. The first 15 chapters, covering the earliest seven months of 1947, run for 285 pages of generally linear narrative. There is a gap of 17 months between these chapters and the final 13-page chapter, which is dated December 1948, the occasion of the second Dutch military action against the Republic. A jerky attempt to tidy up the narrative as if a longer story had been intended, the chapter encompasses the 'rebellion of communists at Madiun' and the surrender of the national civilian leadership at Jogjakarta. The Madiun affair is described in two unequivocal paragraphs, without reference to conflicting interpretations: 'In the middle of the month of September 1948, there broke out a rebellion of communists at Madiun. Extraordinary cruelty was shown by the communists against their political opponents. [… Amir Syarifuddin] and the other leading PKI figures were captured, and given death sentences' (p. 293). Such a depiction justifies earlier warnings about the threat from communism. A half-page epilogue then summarises events from the Second Dutch Military Action to the Transfer of Sovereignty on 27 December 1949, implying the narrative's military heroes have been victorious over the Dutch and the communists.

Mochtar acknowledged that he wrote to promote his particular view of the world.[123] Literary critics have noted the author's predilection for too many 'sermons' which, according to the critic Pamusuk Eneste, make the characters stiff, static and unconvincing. Consequently, 'Sadeli comes across more as an "incarnation" of the author rather than an "ordinary Semarang man" born in 1914'.[124] Teeuw, on the other hand, regarded *Maut dan Cinta* as 'a well-told adventure story … possessing all the necessary ingredients – love, war, espionage, heroism and treason – to make it thrilling reading, but actually offering no more than pleasurable entertainment'.[125] Whatever its literary shortcomings, like most of Mochtar Lubis's publications, *Maut dan Cinta* sold well, reaching its second printing within eighteen months.[126]

On 15 December 1979, the semigovernmental Jaya Raya Foundation awarded it a literary prize of one million rupiah for best recent novel.[127] According to one jury member, the novel was selected from 40 other entries, because, apart from matters of style, it provided unique information about the Revolution and posed the question as to whether the goals and beliefs, once held so strongly, still survive.[128] What was not stated by the jury but which may be inferred is that many of the values embodied in the work are those the New Order establishment sought to reinforce. The novel diverted the credit for Independence away from common people onto extraordinary military officers executing feats of unique daring. Since the late 1970s, the government's information and propaganda arms increasingly emphasised the contribution made to the struggle for Independence by military heroes.[129] Such figures save Indonesia, not merely from the Dutch, but also more enduringly from the New Order's primary obsession: communism.

These two post-*Malari* novels differ markedly from Mochtar's earlier works in their depiction of the Independence struggle. In his early work, *Tidak Ada Esok*,

internal division and dissolution undermine the nation's patriotic resolve, while in *Maut dan Cinta* the threats are external alien forces. While hardly an issue in *Tidak Ada Esok*, which was written very close to the period described, communism has become the greatest threat in *Maut dan Cinta*, in which the Revolution was no longer a matter of personal anguish (as it had been in *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*) but a foundation rite of nationalism. The struggle is stripped of its gore and violence, its contradictions and internal conflicts and is presented as a glorified mythic adventure of heroic men.

Despite his earlier belief that, through his novels he might 'speak to the world', Mochtar appeared more sanguine about the effects of literature in his latter life and devoted less time to its pursuit. While his literary output was largely maintained by polishing earlier manuscripts, like *Harimau! Harimau!* and *Maut dan Cinta*, or collecting previously published short stories into single volumes (like *Kuli Kontrak* in 1982), there was some fresh material, notably the short story collection *Bromocorah* (1983), penned during his stay in Bellagio. When asked about work-in-progress, he would mention a project about the New Order, in the vein of *Senja di Jakarta*, tentatively called *Rayap* [*Termites/Corruptors*]. In August 1993, his good friend Ramadhan K.H. wrote to the Nobel Prize Committee nominating him, but while he had garnered many national literary awards (including in August 1992, the Chairil Anwar Literary Award from the Jakarta Arts Council for lifetime achievement in Indonesian literature), such international recognition eluded him. In the latter phases of his life, he relegated fiction a much lower priority than public speeches, essays and other writings on his pressing interests in ecology, cultural change and sustainable development.

Cultural statesman

Throughout the New Order, Mochtar Lubis continued the international role he had commenced in the early 1950s, through his participation in (largely American-sponsored) international professional and cultural organisations. Support from organisations like the IPI and the CCF enabled him to put his view of Indonesia and its political system to the international community in a manner, and to a degree, afforded no other Indonesian journalist or novelist. Yet, Mochtar was not in the mould of literary intellectuals like Takdir Alisjahbana, H.B. Jassin, or Pramoedya Ananta Toer. He expressed himself through the brief editorial and barbed 'corner' column of *Indonesia Raya*. His years in detention were a political rite of passage, which conferred upon him the mantle of a democrat martyr, who had influential international connections and the eyes of the world upon him. After his release in 1966, he returned to edit *Indonesia Raya* yet was increasingly drawn to other pursuits, excelling as a cultural spokesperson, domestically and internationally.

In Indonesia, political reputation, literary achievements and the respect in which he was held by members of the Cultural Manifesto group and other student supporters combined to elevate Mochtar to cultural peerage in the Jakarta Academy and give him an ongoing influence upon two of the leading institutions in Indonesian artistic life: *Horison* and TIM. As a cultural strategist, he fought

battles with the Jakarta Municipal Council to defend the autonomy of TIM, despite occasional criticisms from younger artists. Through his monthly editorials in *Horison* he was able to explore broader philosophical and intellectual issues in a style that would have sat uncomfortably in a daily newspaper like *Indonesia Raya.* His periodic lectures – to be explored in the following chapter – extended his reach into public debate.

Along with Pramoedya and Takdir, Mochtar was regarded as one of the leading cultural figures of his generation in Indonesia, the respect in which he was held evident from his numerous prizes, fellowships and other honours. Critically, however, the measure of his achievements since 1966 was enhanced by the fact that, with the crushing of the Left, the anticommunist humanist values he espoused did not have to jostle with a vocal opposition in the nation's cultural politics, criticisms from disgruntled young artists notwithstanding. The changing politics after 1966, and especially after 1974, gave Mochtar Lubis a reduced role as political reporter and activist in day-to-day national political life. He shifted focus from daily politics to cultural affairs, nationally through TIM, and internationally through his various fellowships, conferences, seminars and networks like Obor, whose publications reflected his changing interests and the international influences upon him. It was such international currents of thought rather than autochthonous traditions or domestic debates which came to provide his intellectual succour and stimulus in his life after *Indonesia Raya*.

Part IV

Denouement

7 The editor after *Indonesia Raya*

His release from Nirbaya prison began the penultimate phase of Mochtar's life. Despite his many and varied literary and cultural activities, he continued to regard himself principally as a journalist and editor, albeit unable to publish a newspaper in Indonesia. While he was frequently interviewed by, and featured in, the mass media in Indonesia as one of the government's outspoken critics, he rarely if ever wrote for domestic newspapers, suggesting when approached by them that publishing him might result in them being victimised by the authorities.[1] Instead, he was drawn into a variety of other media activities, mainly abroad.

For the remainder of his life, his forays onto the domestic political stage were few, largely within nongovernment civil society organisations, or as public intellectual and commentator on social, cultural and political trends rather than as a critic of specific government policies. As he saw it, he stepped back from the hurly-burly of political conflict to take a broader, long-term view. Without a newspaper, overseas commitments and certain of his businesses (particularly Fortune Advertising) absorbed more of his time. His social, artistic, and professional activities continued to attract public interest and his opinions were frequently sought by foreign and local journalists and academics on topics from advertising to art, from politics to painting. For example, despite only relatively modest efforts at film making, Mochtar was invited onto the judging panel of the prestigious annual Indonesian Film Festival awards, the *Citra*, during the late 1970s. He continued to enjoy his role as a passionate public intellectual who, even in the mid-1990s, was feisty enough to take on an old Cold War rival.

The impact of detention

With the exception of student activist Hariman Siregar, who was kept mostly in solitary confinement, Mochtar Lubis was the only detainee held over the January 1974 riots who was incarcerated in Nirbaya, a model prison for elite political detainees. In an ironic twist, this staunch anticommunist shared a compound with senior Leftists arrested after 1 October 1965. Amongst them were several he had known well in earlier times. Former air force commander Omar Dhani had been Mochtar's instructor at the Jakarta Aeroclub in the early 1950s. Soebandrio, formerly Sukarno's first deputy premier, Mochtar had known well during the

Revolution when he was Secretary General of the Information Ministry in Jogjakarta. When he was Indonesian Ambassador in London, Soebandrio even used to write occasionally for *Indonesia Raya* under a pseudonym. Despite the political chasm that separated them after 1965, such experiences and their current shared fate meant Mochtar and the Leftists got on amicably in their unwelcome confines.

Mochtar's prison diary, which included a number of letters written to his family, revealed the author as a man still motivated by crusading moral rectitude and belief in the 'rule of law'.[2] He was passionately concerned about people and his society, and wrote with great conviction about injustice and abuse of power. But it seems clear, in retrospect, that his rebellious posture was curbed by this last imprisonment. Earlier detentions had meant long separations from loved ones. He had not been present to deal with family problems, some of which were aggravated by his absences, nor to participate in the joys and responsibilities of his children's childhood. His wife, Hally, had been a constant support and their relationship was loving and passionate, but family relations were strained by indefinite detention.

These were things about which he preferred not to talk, but after his release, friends noted a more restrained, reflective manner, interpreted by some as an indication of greater personal maturity and political sagacity, by others as a dispiritedness, a resolve not to subject himself or his family to another detention. After the high hopes he had had for the newspaper in the early years of the New Order, the ban on *Indonesia Raya* made him despondent, even depressed, some close to him recalled. While his jovial nature and boisterous laugh in public sustained the image of an optimist, the realisation that his international standing had not protected him from arrest may have tempered his willingness to risk his freedom again.

As a business person, too, he had had to pay a price for criticising the government. After *Indonesia Raya*'s collapse, it had to reschedule bank debt and cancel informal loans, causing substantial losses to Mochtar and those 'friends' who had provided financial support. The *Indonesia Raya* offices were rented out to recoup losses, and debt rescheduling favoured *Indonesia Raya*, but much remained unpaid into the 1980s. Debts were only finally erased when the Indonesia Raya Publishing Corporation, the paper's legal entity, was wound up and all its assets sold in the late 1990s. While Mochtar's reputation had enhanced his business potential during the early New Order, his notoriety after his Malari arrest was a commercial liability. On a personal level, some relationships with New Order officials were warm. On his release from Nirbaya prison, for example, Attorney General Ali Said embraced Mochtar and apologised for the detention. There was no explicit government ban upon Mochtar's business activities, but joining with a political pariah was strategically unwise in an investment climate where proximity to power-holders unlocked lucrative contracts, and critics of the government were frozen out.[3]

He remained active in Fortune Advertising for several years and, as a measure of his status in the advertising industry, in December 1979, was elected chairperson of the Honorary Council of the Advertising Companies' Association

of Indonesia (PPPI).[4] Indra Abidin, who joined Fortune in 1973 and became a shareholder in 1982, gradually assumed daily operational control of the company until Mochtar withdrew, selling his shares in 1986. Abidin later paid tribute to his former boss, saying Mochtar had 'contributed substantially to the development of the Indonesian advertising industry'. He noted Mochtar had 'always encouraged Indonesian advertising practitioners to not feel uneasy in their dealing with foreign experts. It was he who helped most in the creation of the Indonesian Advertising Code of Practice. It was he also who made the advertising industry part of the press'.[5] Arman Lubis, who trained in TV and film in London and had joined the firm in the seventies as a copywriter, also left Fortune after his father's departure. Whatever the cause, Mochtar appeared less interested in business than in media, literary, or artistic pursuits.

Media and journalism

Two major international media-related activities preoccupied Mochtar after it became clear that it would be impossible to reopen *Indonesia Raya*. Firstly, he accepted membership of a key United Nations Commission and, more enduringly, he took the helm of the Manila-based Press Foundation of Asia.

From December 1977 till November 1979, Mochtar served on the 16 member International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems, established by UNESCO to examine the 'problems of communication in modern society' after Third World calls for a New International Information Order (NIIO).[6] He was one of only four Indonesians to sit on such prestigious UN Commissions.[7] Headed by Sean MacBride, former Irish Foreign Minister, Chairperson of Amnesty International and holder of both the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes, the Commission had four sessions at the Paris headquarters plus others in Sweden, Yugoslavia, India and Mexico, taking about two months of Mochtar's time.[8] Yet, though the final report was seen as a major contribution to international media policy, Mochtar was privately critical of it, accusing the secretariat of manipulating the Commission's recommendations to reflect the biases of bureaucrats rather than Commission members.[9] He saw himself as often out of step with other members from developing countries, because he believed it was hypocritical for Third World spokespeople to complain about an imbalance in the information flow internationally when they are 'completely silent about the non-existence of a free and balanced flow of information and news within their own countries, between the power elite which rules and the masses of the population'.[10]

His involvement with the global press community continued through the International Press Institute and, more specifically, the Press Foundation of Asia, of which he was elected Director General in 1981.[11] For a decade, without a salary, Mochtar served as the PFA's part-time 'ambassador and guiding spirit, visiting the Manila offices several times a year from his home in Jakarta and representing the PFA in international gatherings'.[12] He played a crucial role in both the professional education programs and in raising funds behind the scenes. PFA founder Amitabha Chowdhury praised Mochtar for keeping the organisation

PFA founder Amitabha Chowdhury described Mochtar as 'this tall, laughing man, this always cheerful man', who kept the organisation alive (Photo: David T. Hill).

alive during very difficult times. 'The fact that this tall, laughing man, this always cheerful man was there and stretched out his hands, kept it going. He kept the flame alive', he praised.[13] In 1991, the PFA was honoured, as Mochtar himself had been in 1958, with the Ramon Magsaysay Award, but in the category of 'International Understanding'. In its citation, the Magsaysay Foundation noted that since the establishment of the PFA in 1967

> more than two thousand Asian journalists have been trained in PFA-led workshops and seminars. Taking up the full range of development topics, these training exercises have helped young Asian journalists become literate reporters on matters such as agriculture, ecology, and medicine and taught them skills in photojournalism, high-tech printing, and cost-effective management.

It continued:

> With a staff of twenty in Manila, guided by Romeo Abundo and under the direction of its long-time Director General Mochtar Lubis, the PFA today – though often strapped for money – steadfastly advances its essential programs and causes.[14]

In addition to these prominent international roles he took on a wide variety of other tasks in the media. In 1978, for example, he became Associate Editor for Southeast Asia of the new Boston-based *WorldPaper*, which was inserted into

host papers on five continents, quarterly at first then monthly from 1980.[15] He held the position, which involved writing occasional contributions and promoting the paper and its concept through his networks, for several years. At various times, he was also writing columns in the environmental magazines *Suara Alam* and its English counterpart *Voice of Nature*, a columnist for *Newsweek*, Chair of the Editorial Board of *Solidarity* magazine in Manila, editorial advisor in communications for the Manila advertising magazine *Impact*, member of the USA-based International Science Writers' Association (ISWA), and member of an advisory group to the daily newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, Tokyo, to name just a few of his many engagements.

With such a wide range of pursuits in addition to his substantial time commitment to the PFA, by 1982, Mochtar Lubis was spending half his time abroad.[16] He consciously stepped back from Indonesian public life to move into international forums because, as he bemoaned,

> it is like rowing against a very strong tide politically in Indonesia today. Whatever you do you will fail, and if you do it in a very strong manner you will get a reaction from the government which will stop all your activities completely … [By] being active abroad, looking also into real problems, which have very direct implications for our future, I think I could be more constructive.[17]

Politics and human rights

Despite such offshore preoccupations Mochtar remained at least sporadically involved in the dissident domestic politics of the secular modernising intellectuals. He had been a member of the Advisory Council of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) since it was founded in 1971 on the initiative of Adnan Buyung Nasution, son of an older colleague of Mochtar's in Antara in the 1940s.[18] One of the most outspoken of a new raft of nongovernmental organisations to emerge melding grassroots political activism and community empowerment, the LBH quickly 'proved more effective than any other public or private institution in calling attention to the decrepitude of the legal system, political injustice and social and economic inequity'.[19] Mochtar sympathised with its push for structural social and legal reform, which owed much to the thinking of Buyung Nasution, himself a Malari detainee, and particularly his protégé and successor, T. Mulya Lubis. After his own dubious experiences with the vagaries of the Indonesian legal system, Mochtar was proud of the LBH's hard-won radical reputation and its practical goals of educating people about their legal rights, conscientising the legal profession and agitating for a just legal system.[20] In January 1980, he also joined a LBH-based lobby group, Abolish the Death Penalty [*Hapuskan Hukuman Mati*, HATI], which emerged in response to a series of executions based on dubious verdicts.[21]

Mochtar networked widely, contributing his moral leverage to various pressure groups, though generally not taking a particularly prominent role. While he was always open to approaches from students or young journalists who came to him for

advice and encouragement, his alignment was more with intellectual or elite lobby groups, albeit those which encouraged a broader public awareness of the need for political change. One of the most elite groups he was to join was established on 1 June 1978, the 33rd anniversary of the birth of the Pancasila, when a circle of opposition figures, including former Vice President Mohammad Hatta, former Defence Minister A.H. Nasution, former Jakarta Governor Lieutenant General Ali Sadikin and former chief of national police, General Hugeng Imam Santoso, established the Institute for Constitutional Awareness (LKB).[22] Bringing together leading retired military figures and respected civilians with whom they had in the past been at odds, this proved to be an influential, if small and elite, opposition network.[23]

Cooperation within this group led in May 1980 to the presentation to Parliament of a Statement of Concern, signed by 50 citizens from different ideological and generational groups, including at least 14 members of the LKB. The Group of 50 were reacting to unscripted speeches by President Suharto in which he implied that criticism of him was tantamount to subversion, alleged there were opposition groups threatening the state ideology of Pancasila and urged the army to take political sides.[24] Mochtar Lubis did not personally sign the 'Petition of Fifty' – he was abroad when signatories were approached and therefore evaded the harshest retaliations by Suharto against the group – but he became associated, in the minds of many, with the petitioners.

In fact, although a founding member of the LKB, Mochtar Lubis ended up participating in few of their activities because of his absences. Exceptions included his urging the Sultan of Jogjakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX, to join the LKB, and lobbying factions of the Parliament (DPR) in July 1979 on the implementation of the Constitution.[25] Partly his limited involvement was due to overseas commitments, but more because he did not enjoy the regular demands of organisational membership and activities. His was a symbolic contribution, affirming the ideals of clean, open, and responsible government. But he cultivated no organisable constituency, nor after Malari did he sustain a mechanism through which to build or mobilise support. Moreover, his close relationship with the student community and with younger journalists tended to fade as he spent more and more time away from the oppositional spotlight, replaced by younger and more vocal communicators. Till 1974, he enjoyed prestige as a symbol of the struggle for press freedom under the Sukarno government. After his release in 1975, his political attitudes became less noticeable publicly, partly because *Indonesia Raya* was no longer championing them, partly because Mochtar himself was more cautious and less frequently drawn into explicitly political debate.

The nature of the student movement was changing too. By 1974, the leaders of the 1966 movement with whom Mochtar had maintained good relations, had moved out of student politics. Some had graduated to national politics or become public servants. Some worked as more restrained – or politically wily – editors in successful commercial enterprises (like Goenawan Mohamad). Others, like Arief Budiman, were overseas studying. As a generation, they had either joined the ranks of the New Order government, which they basically supported and helped

legitimate, or they had been politically neutralised, cut off from the bases of activism on the campuses, and without followings they could mobilise amongst the general public. Mochtar's hero image had been somewhat tarnished too by the buffeting of accusations, such as those launched by B.M. Diah over the Pertamina exposure, and by legal disputes. Some admirers were disappointed that he had chosen particular types of businesses, such as Indoconsult and Fortune, in the fields of consultancy and advertising, which might be interpreted as directly promoting the interests of foreign companies in Indonesia.

His business roles not withstanding, Mochtar Lubis was still admired by many of the young students who moved into the streets in January 1974. When large-scale student opposition re-emerged in 1977–78, he was less well known and played only a small part. Again, his absence abroad prefigured the extent and nature of the role he was to play within the broader opposition to Suharto: Mochtar was on a fellowship in Holland during the build-up to the 1978 demonstrations. However, after his return, he joined 13 other intellectuals and literary figures in signing a statement on 24 January 1978, calling for the lifting of constraints on students' councils and campus freedoms, the release of arrested student leaders, and the revoking of the bans on seven newspapers.[26] His support again was more symbolic than central to the opposition movement. Student leaders were looking to people younger than Mochtar for an analysis of socioeconomic alternatives and practical guidance for the opposition movement. Intellectuals like Dorodjatun Kuntjoro Jakti, Mulya Lubis and Juwono Sudarsono became more interesting and more authoritative to secular youth, while figures like Dawam Rahardjo, A.M. Fatwa, H. Sanusi and Abdurrachman Wahid found enthusiastic audiences among young Muslims.

Since he was never a signatory of the Petition of Fifty, Mochtar escaped the *cordon sanitaire* thrown by the authorities around members of the group, discouraging media coverage, preventing overseas travel and stifling their business connections to strangle them into submission. The government largely succeeded in isolating the dissidents, who despite the arrest of several of their number and a virtual media black-ban through the 1980s, retained a moral authority and broad public respect. The cordon started to loosen in the early 1990s. Minister for Science and Technology B.J. Habibie initiated a rapprochement with particular prominent Muslim leaders in the group, who expressed sympathy for his initiative in establishing the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals [ICMI, *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*]. Founded in December 1990, the association was effectively a mechanism to neutralise political Islam and channel sanitised ideas into government policy. Mochtar, as both a secularist and a sceptic, maintained his dissent. He was dismissive of both the Habibie overture and the Islamic organisation itself, arguing (when interviewed in the media), 'I see ICMI as simply an extension of the hand of Government, represented by Habibie there'.[27]

He was more sympathetic to the secular Democratic Forum [*Forum Demokrasi*], established in April 1991 partly in response to the closure of a popular magazine, *Monitor*, after objections from the government and some sections of the Muslim community to an opinion poll which ranked the president higher than Muslim

prophet Muhammad. The Forum was driven largely by 1966 generation liberal intellectuals, like Arief Budiman, Marsillam Simanjuntak and T. Mulya Lubis, and a tolerant mix of liberal nationalists, Catholics and Muslims, most notably Abdurrahman Wahid, chairperson of the 30 million strong Nahdlatul Ulama. The Democratic Forum may be seen as Mochtar's natural constituency, including as it did many of the former student leaders who had admired him so greatly in the mid-1960s. Furthermore, its liberal, secular ethos was clear, with its emergence seen as a response to the government cooptation of certain Muslim interests through ICMI. As Aspinall observed, 'If the Petition of Fifty was greatly influenced by government hostility to political Islam at the time of its formation, Forum Demokrasi was partly a reaction to the government's conciliation of political Islam in the 1990s'.[28] Yet, despite such a natural fit between Mochtar's views and the Forum's membership and the fact that it arose to defend the media against unwarranted attack, he was again symbolically encouraging rather than actively present. It was from the sidelines that he exhorted the Forum to action. 'Don't just get a name, and then not do anything', he urged them.

> What is the point if we make a formal organisation, but aren't active. Isn't that just going to disappoint the community? […] As an idea, it's great, wanting to struggle to enliven democracy in Indonesia. That's great. But I want to see them more active.[29]

It was a call Mochtar's detractors might just as easily have levelled against him, but he remained the political maverick, disinclined to the hard slog of organisational action or collective strategising.

Mochtar Lubis, as international cultural broker, speaking during his visit to Australia in March 1990 (Photo: David T. Hill).

Thus, when three news weeklies – *Tempo*, *Editor* and *DeTik* – were banned by the government for their bold political reporting in June 1994, throwing hundreds of journalists and other media workers out of work, Mochtar expressed his outrage in various media interviews in campus papers and the like. Yet he was not a participant when the Alliance of Independent Journalists [AJI, *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*] emerged from the ruins. The more rambunctious of the workers from the banned publications banded together, with the support of senior media figures like Aristides Katoppo, Goenawan Mohammad and Arief Budiman, to form a professional association in direct competition with the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), the only body officially recognised and permitted to represent journalists by the New Order. While Mochtar was not a signatory to the initial declaration signed in the mountain retreat of Sirna Galih which founded AJI, he had been strongly critical of the PWI's submissive compliance to the New Order and was regarded by the AJI membership as a strong supporter of their aims. AJI members routinely sought his advice and support for their activities. When three AJI staff were charged with various offences associated with the organisation's underground publication, *Independent*, Mochtar had no hesitation in appearing as an expert witness for the defence at their trial on 21 August 1995.[30]

Even from the sidelines, Mochtar Lubis was still capable of causing a stir and irritating the authorities. In 1995, the popular television interview program *Perspective* [*Perspektif*], hosted by one of Indonesia's most accomplished and polished media practitioners, Wimar Witoelar, was a run-away hit on the commercial channel SCTV with its in-depth, often controversial interviews. The program capitalised on the authorities' apparent preparedness to allow media owners, rather than direct government intervention, to police critical political comment in the media. When Wimar featured an extended interview with Mochtar over two weekly programs in September – less than a month after Mochtar's appearance at the AJI trial – it proved to be the show's final hurrah; under government pressure, the station's management pulled *Perspective* off air.[31]

Mochtar's commitment to particular organisations, such as the Legal Aid Institute, remained acute, and he was not reluctant to invest time or court controversy when the circumstances arose. In 1995–96, for example, the management of the Institute was polarised between those arguing the organisation should concentrate on litigation, providing legal services to the disempowered, and those who felt it needed also to engage in political activism and agenda-setting, to be (in the words of founder Buyung Nasution) an 'engine of democracy'. As a member of the Board of Trustees, Mochtar supported an activist strategy to challenge the New Order's disregard for the rule of law. When he walked out of a tense Trustees' meeting in March 1996 in protest against the procedures being followed to bridge this polarisation in the appointment of a new Executive Chairman of the Legal Aid Institute Foundation, his stance attracted widespread media attention.[32] Mochtar retained his aura as hero of campus journalists, media activists and human rights crusaders. He continued to be approached by students to address campus groups or write for their publications. But, within the broad opposition, his domestic role as leader and mentor had largely passed to others, as he served more as public intellectual than political activist.

Public intellectual

Mochtar Lubis's role as a cultural broker at the interstices of Indonesia and the world was manifest through a variety of endeavours beyond his life as a journalist, author, or activist. His international activities, through his membership of various journalistic, literary, cultural and intellectual organisations, brought him constantly in touch with new currents of thought. He expanded his longstanding international connections very effectively into an enhanced and satisfying global role. He was, for example, a member of the international study group on Rethinking International Governance at the Harold E. Stassen Center for World Peace and the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, a fellow of the Aspen Institute, and even member of the jury for the International Water Tribunal in Amsterdam. Months in America, sojourns in Holland, his participation in the MacBride Commission and frequent trips around Europe and Asia to confer with other intellectuals, stimulated new concerns for an equitable global order and stimulated his interest in ecological imperatives. He saw the need for a global realignment and awakening to foster a fairer, more equitable redistribution of wealth, a careful husbanding of resources and a simpler lifestyle for the affluent. He took on this vision with a creative zeal and keenly propounded it back home where he contributed to debate through periodic public lectures which were well reported in the media. He used such opportunities to reflect upon changing global trends and their influence upon social and political circumstances in Indonesia.[33]

His most comprehensive and explicit domestic statements and social critiques after his Malari detention were in the form of public lectures, three of which were published as brief monographs: *Manusia Indonesia* [The Indonesian Character] (1977), *Bangsa Indonesia* [The Indonesian Nation] (1978) and *Transformasi Budaya untuk Masa Depan* [Cultural Transformation for the Future] (1983).[34] Such lectures and nonfictional writings are light on political critique and strong on personal ethics and responsibilities. As a moralist, Mochtar emphasised personal reform and cultural transformation as keys to the political changes he desired for Indonesia and the world community. He highlighted aspects of Indonesian culture which he saw impeding social progress. Practical politics found little place. His approach had elements of the Sjahririan heritage in that, while Mochtar praised some of the achievements of Indonesia's precolonial past and her traditional art, there was a recurring disparagement of traditional beliefs and practices (particularly those identified as Javanese). There was an exasperation at the resilience of 'mysticism' and 'superstitions' despite the influence of (Western-style) education in inculcating rationality. There were the ideals of social justice, equal education opportunities, a just prosperity, personal human freedoms and humanistic ethics, to be achieved by cultural transformation, an aggregate cultural shift generated by individuals changing. He showed tremendous faith in gradual reform through collaboration.

Mochtar's lectures, most popularly *Manusia Indonesia*, have the moralistic tone and fervour of the public intellectual as 'public conscience'. The intellectual

Mochtar Lubis remained an impressive cultural statesman into the later stages of his life (Perth, 1990) (Photo: Brian Richards).

was spokesperson *for* the society. It was through education and reflection upon information presented by rational intellectuals that people within the broader community were to become civic minded, reform and bring about legally sanctioned social change. Although he shared few of the deprivations of his poorer country people, he closed his lecture on The Indonesian Nation, asserting 'I venture to speak for the orphans of our nation, the 50 percent who are still below the poverty line, who still suffer calorie and protein deficiencies, … and also for the future, and for the generations to come in this, our homeland'.[35] He was the conciliator, seeking a middle road, to avoid conflict, appealing to his audience, who had attained a degree of economic and political influence over their own lives, to work for social change. These were the tactics of an Opposition figure – a sympathiser of the Institute for Constitutional Awareness [LKB], the Petition of Fifty and (in Southwood and Flanagan's terms) a 'critical collaborator' – who was confident of his own authority, and apprehensive about mass political action and public resistance.[36]

He did not threaten the essential ideological principles of the New Order, but urged the government to return to its ideological roots. There is no indication that his lectures angered the government. His sociological approach sidelined domestic political factors, focussing, on the one hand, on domestic 'cultural' characteristics and, on the other under the influence of dependency theory, on economic and political relationships *between* states. Despite responses in the national press taking umbrage to various aspects of his lectures, the sentiments he expressed reflected a common stream of thought within a middle-class urban secular modernising community. While critical of colonial scholars' views of Indonesians, Mochtar

reproduced elements of the antitraditional bias common in Orientalist scholarship, despite his conscious effort to make himself defender of and spokesperson for the community about which he wrote.

In contrast to his public lectures designed to trigger debate amongst his domestic audience were two glossy 'coffee-table' nonfiction books that Mochtar wrote for the Dutch market, in what some close to him interpreted as an expression of his frustration at not being able to work as a journalist.[37] After the popularity of the generously illustrated *Het Land onder de regenboog: de geschiedenis van Indonesie* [The Land Under the Rainbow: A History of Indonesia] (1979), researched during his fellowship in Holland, the publishers commissioned him to write *Het land onder de zon: het Indonesie van nu* [The Land Under the Sun: Indonesia now] (1981), which described his impressions as he (accompanied for periods by his family) journeyed around Indonesia in 1980–81.[38]

Despite his archival work in the Netherlands, Mochtar was conscious of not being a trained historian and acknowledged 'how far I have succeeded in looking at Indonesian history through an "Indonesian optic" is for the reader to decide'.[39] An entertaining and accessible general introduction to his country, the book did not make much of an impression in Indonesia. At least one leading historian felt it bore the hallmarks of the author's literary rather than historical moorings and was unsuccessful in breaking free of Dutch approaches to achieve the author's aspirations of identifying a unique Indonesian interpretation of the nation's past.[40] It was nonetheless a significant authorial departure for Mochtar who had not previously written sustained works of history. Ending his tale with the establishment of the New Order, he declined the opportunity to analyse its failings for his foreign readership. It was an opportunity he side-stepped again in the subsequent Dutch book, which ostensibly focussed on 'Indonesia now', yet which left unstated his widespread criticisms elsewhere of the Suharto government. Instead he opted for a 'travelogue' description of his 'safari' around Indonesia, providing detailed observations and chance conversations rather than analysis of social and political conditions.

Some Indonesians more radical than Mochtar were highly critical of his role as a 'world citizen', who plugged in to liberal political currents abroad and attempted to communicate them in Indonesia. To adopt the metaphor of one activist, if Mochtar 'metabolised' what he ingested abroad, breaking it down to suit Indonesia's needs, his international experience may benefit the community. But this required of him a very discriminating appetite lest he regurgitate in Indonesia inappropriate values and material consumed abroad. To such people Mochtar was a populariser rather than an innovative thinker. His skills as a communicator were used to channel ideas abroad back to Indonesia, and to represent Indonesia internationally. In each of these realms, he both absorbed something of the prevailing values and radiated ideas brought from the other sphere. This process fashioned his attitudes and the way others perceived him. In such forums as UNESCO, he was regarded as an articulate spokesperson not only for Indonesian journalists, artists and writers, but also, more broadly, for Third World ones. His cosmopolitanism and the sweep of activities in which he had

been involved made him, at times, more valued abroad than at home. It was also, at times, a highly ideological role.

Cultural clashes of the cold war warriors: Pramoedya and Magsaysay

Few would have predicted the depth of residual bitterness and ideological conflict lingering from the 1960s that was uncovered by the announcement in July 1995 that the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation had recognised the literary work of Pramoedya Ananta Toer with its prestigious honour. The citation praised 'his illuminating with brilliant stories the historical awakening and modern experience of the Indonesian people'. Admirers of Pramoedya had long hoped that he would one day be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. The Magsaysay Award provided a welcome international acknowledgement at a time when the New Order was routinely banning each of Pramoedya's new books as he, equally as doggedly, continued to publish them. His detractors, however, were aghast that a body honouring the political legacy of the anticommunist former president of the Philippines would reward Pramoedya for his decades of criticism of liberalism and his anticommunist opponents.[41]

For Mochtar, the juxtaposition was particularly stark since Pramoedya was the only other Indonesian, after Mochtar himself, to receive the Magsaysay Award for Journalism, Literature and Creative Communication Arts. Outraged, Mochtar faxed the Magsaysay board that 'I am seriously considering to return [sic] my Magsaysay Award, as I believe that the Magsaysay Foundation has left its principles of upholding human values and rights by recognizing a writer who, during the period of the ascendancy of the communist Party in Indonesia wrote against these values'.[42] Not mollified by their response, he replied that 'As Pramudya A. Toer [sic] had never expressed his regret and never admitted that his viscious [sic] attacks against the non-communist writers in Indonesia thirty years ago were wrong, the RMF's award to him means rewarding him also for the very bad things he had perpetrated against the non-communist writers in Indonesia. This, in my eyes, demeans the spiritual value of the RMF's award, and I want to inform you that I want to return my RMF's award to the RMF's Foundation as soon as possible'.[43]

As the campaign against Pramoedya strengthened, Mochtar enlisted the support of his old Filipino friend 'Frankie' Sionil Jose to whom he wrote asking for local press clippings about the conflict and who expressed to Mochtar his full support for the campaign. On 29 July, led by Mochtar and including H.B. Jassin – another Magsaysay Awardee and sparring partner of Pramoedya – 26 prominent anticommunist artists and writers signed a public condemnation of the Award to Pramoedya, which they presented to the Magsaysay Foundation. Jose, also a Magsaysay Awardee, wrote to *Asiaweek* condemning Pramoedya's Award. In response, *Asiaweek* noted simply that 'On Aug. 30, about 150 Indonesian writers, journalists and activists supported the Foundation's choice of Pramoedya, citing his "invaluable contribution" to culture'.[44] After failing to appear for

four successive months, *Horison* devoted its entire October 1995 edition to the Pramoedya Magsaysay issue featuring a cover photo of Mochtar returning his Award to the Magsaysay Foundation

In the battle for the minds of young generation Indonesians during the late New Order over Pramoedya's symbolic role, Mochtar and his fellow signatories were clearly out-manoeuvred. If the list of signatories to the anti-Pramoedya document represented the old anticommunist guard of the early 1960s – including Taufiq Ismail, Ikranegara, Asrul Sani, Wiratmo Soekito and DS Moeljanto – those that rallied in his favour included *Horison* founder Arief Budiman, public intellectuals like Daniel Dhakidae and Goenawan Mohamad, as well as some of the sharpest minds of the younger generation (such as Ariel Heryanto and Hilmar Farid). These younger generation leaders had already come to regard Pramoedya's determined antiauthoritarian stance as a powerful asset in the battle against Suharto and the redefinition of Indonesia's political values away from the mid-1960s. The very public clash of the old Cold War Warriors illustrated just how much Mochtar was loosing touch with the driving ideological values of the main anti-Suharto movement. Critically embracing the old Left and reinterpreting inherited assumptions about the ideological clashes that gave birth to the New Order were becoming *de rigueur* for young radicals as they struggled to find a more effective strategy against Suharto than that offered by ageing liberal dissidents. Constrained by his deep-seated anticommunism, Mochtar was less able to engage intellectually with the emerging new generation of political leaders and activists.

If Pramoedya gave the impression, internationally at least, of being at the zenith of his career, having published nearly a dozen books, including his magnum opus *This Earth of Mankind* tetralogy, since his release from political detention in 1979, Mochtar was struggling with writer's block. Despite frequent mention in interviews and conversations throughout the 1980s and 1990s, of a literary project called *Rayap* [*Termites/Corruptors*] 'telling the story of how this nation of ours is eaten through by "termites" everywhere' it remained unfinished. No trace surfaced amongst his papers after his death. As he joked to one reporter in 1994, 'Maybe I need to be in jail in order to finish my novel. I wouldn't mind. But just for six months. Not for too long'.[45] He was aware of the perverse irony that his most productive literary phase had been during his decade of detention, something he had been unable to replicate outside.

Decline and passing

Declining health from the mid-1990s signalled the final stage of Mochtar's life. He had been gradually withdrawing from business, selling his interest in Airfast in the late 1970s (though his son Iwan remained with that company, eventually as Human Resources Director)[46] and his shares in Fortune Advertising by 1986. He passed his shares in Indoconsult to his children; Hasjim Djojohadikusumo had long replaced his father, Sumitro, in the company.[47] Even *Indonesia Raya*'s last remaining assets, the offices in Cempaka Putih, were liquidated in 1994 when the property was sold to a company owned by Mochtar's children. Winding up

Indonesia Raya took two to three years, with Atmakusumah attempting to track down all former employees by placing ads in national papers. Only about half a dozen of the eighty-odd eligible former workers were not found. The proceeds from the sale of the office and land were divided amongst the ex-staff, according to their seniority and length of service, right down to the cleaner and gardener.[48] Forty-two house-and-shop units were built on the land, the only remaining evidence of its link with *Indonesia Raya* being hidden in its name: Indra [short for INDonesia RAya] Central Cempaka.

Mochtar's most enduring interest outside the home remained the Obor Foundation whose office in Plaju Street at central Jakarta he attended regularly. He maintained correspondence from his desk in the front room of the Dutch-era house which was bought by Obor as its headquarters. He continued to take an active interest in the selection of titles and the search for funding, although General Manager Kartini Nurdin ran the operation. By the 1990s, Obor had grown into one of Indonesia's most respected independent quality publishers. Enthusiastic and well intentioned, but not necessarily always in tune with the wishes of the Indonesian members of YOI, Ivan Kats too continued to take it upon himself to initiate projects through the 1990s, sometimes without due consultation. In July 1993, for example, he wrote to a Netherlands-based scholar inviting them to edit a reader for YOI, copying the letter to Mochtar and claiming he was 'routing this letter through Mochtar Lubis, Chairman of Yayasan Obor Indonesia, and … on his behalf as it were'. Mochtar, who had not been aware of the communication, quickly shot back a sharp retort that 'Obor Indonesia would not feel happy' with Kats' proposal and that 'it would be better to use whatever funding can be raised for other more important books for Indonesia'.[49] Kats wrote with obvious pride of the successes of other Obor affiliates elsewhere: it was 'firmly established as an independent local national foundation' in Pakistan, was 'doing very well too' in Thailand, although not apparently in Vietnam.[50] He continued to pass on recommendations of suitable titles for publication, even when too ill to travel to Jakarta.[51]

Some years earlier Mochtar had bought some agricultural land in Anyer, in the west coastal region of Java where he enjoyed planting and tending a small plantation of fruit and other trees. The mountain retreat in Tugu had long become less tranquil as the capital city expanded to encroach upon the Puncak area and Hally lost interest in weekend trips. For Mochtar, Anyer became a new site for his hobbies, though he rarely stayed long and, as he grew older, seemed uneasy when away from his beloved Hally for more than a few hours. When Hally expressed a keenness to undertake the Islamic pilgrimage he accompanied her, though showing little personal conviction or enthusiasm for the religious rituals. Both he and Hally, who was herself increasingly frail, would go to Singapore from time to time for medical checkups and treatment, as necessary. As they aged, Hally developed heart problems; Mochtar, prostate treatment, along with uncharacteristic lapses in memory noted by family from the mid-1990s.

As the opposition momentum built prior to the fall of Suharto, Mochtar remained accessible to student press activists who continued to call on him for inspiration

and advice. He was encouraged by their rebelliousness and spirit, and exhorted them when they visited, or when he accepted invitations to come and speak to them, to hold fast to the ideal of a free press as watchdog against government malpractice and corruption. However, by the time the broad opposition to Suharto was able force him from the presidency in May 1998, in the wake of the 1997 Asian financial crisis and a plummeting *rupiah*, friends and family realised that Mochtar's failing memory was likely due to more than simply old age. He was determined to maintain something of his old routine, regularly coming to his office at Obor, where he would busy himself browsing through correspondence, drafting notes in an increasingly spidery script, and occasionally rereading old letters as if they had just arrived. Kartini and her staff treated him with great respect, encouraging and caring for him. As he gradually withdrew, son Iwan joined Obor's board of management to continue his father's work. Advised by his doctor to avoid tiring himself, he declined an invitation in 1999 to attend the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the International Press Institute, expressing appreciation for the IPI's 'strong support' when he was 'under the threat of an oppressive regime in Indonesia many years ago'.[52]

The respect in which *Indonesia Raya* and Mochtar Lubis were held by younger journalists active in the 1998 movement against President Suharto was evident when Mochtar was approached by journalists from Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) with a request that they re-establish *Indonesia Raya*. They wanted Mochtar to retain titular oversight of the paper which they would produce. To ensure the new entity continued the tradition of fearless and investigative journalism for which *Indonesia Raya* was famous, former managing editor, Atmakusumah Astraatmaja, was to provide training and staff development. Mochtar's elder son, Iwan, was to contribute business skills and financial support. While Mochtar warmed to the idea, Hally was opposed, lest the additional strain exacerbate his ill-health. The plan never materialised.[53]

Increasingly, Mochtar retreated to the security of Bonang Street, tending plants, painting, busying himself around the residence, staying close to his beloved Hally. In 1999, during a medical checkup in Singapore accompanied by Hally and Iwan, he was diagnosed with advanced Alzheimer's disease. Dismissive of the doctor's attempt to test his memory, Mochtar was stubborn to the last. As his mood and behaviour altered, the man of letters lost the drive to read. Friends and family protected him from the media as his memory lapses rendered him unaware of recent events, including Suharto's fall.

After a bypass operation in Singapore in 2000, Hally's heart finally gave up at the Medistra hospital in Jakarta on 27 August 2001. She had remained sharp and alert to the end, providing a constant support to Mochtar's failing memory. After her death, Mochtar lost his moorings, becoming withdrawn, unaware of night or day. He would forget that Hally had died, and periodically wander the house calling for her, reliving the sorrow of her death each time he was told she was gone.[54] As he declined, he frequently failed to recognise even family. When visited in hospital several months before his death by his life-long friend and sparring partner Rosihan Anwar, Mochtar was unaware of his presence. Suffering asthma,

The graves of Mochtar Lubis and his wife Hally, at the Jeruk Purut Public Cemetery in South Jakarta (Photo: David T. Hill).

prostate complications, and respiratory problems, he passed away at 7.15 pm on Friday 2 July 2004 in Jakarta's Medistra Hospital.[55]

As befitted his contribution to the arts, his body lay for public mourning in the Jakarta Arts Centre prior to his burial beside his beloved Halimah at the Jeruk Purut Public Cemetery in South Jakarta.[56] Attending were a throng of well-known faces from the capital's political, media, literary and cultural circles. Condolences flowed in, from President Megawati Sukarnoputri and her husband, future president and vice president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla, former Jakarta Governor Ali Sadikin, parliamentary Chairpersons, heads of all major media organisations and representatives from the various community organisations in which Mochtar had been active, such as the Legal Aid Institute. The couple's graves, marked by simple black marble headstones, engraved with their names and dates, are covered with a carpet of lush, well-tended grass. A small pot of the orchids he loved to tend and which used to cover the entire front yard of their Bonang Street home adorns his, while a little pink frangipani bush has taken root alongside on hers.

When he died aged 82 Mochtar Lubis left an enduring legacy to both Indonesian literature and journalism. In celebration of his memory on 12–13 August 2004, a two day conference on his life and work was held at TIM, where Mochtar Lubis had held such sway as member of the Jakarta Academy for four decades. The event brought together supporters from the full span of his life and activities – from journalist colleagues-at-arms like Rosihan Anwar and Atmakusumah, and young press activists like AJI's Lukas Luwarso and Tri Agus S. Siswowiharjo

(jailed under Suharto for his journalistic writings) to the nation's leading artistic figures, like W.S. Rendra, and workers with *Horison*, the Jakarta Arts Council and the myriad organisations in which Mochtar Lubis had been involved. Obituaries and tributes appeared across the nation's press. *Horison* brought out a special issue.

The following Independence Day, 17 August, 31 years after Suharto had struck Mochtar's name off the list for national honours, President Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of his *bête noire*, Sukarno, presented Mochtar's children with one of the nation's highest civilian awards, the *Bintang Mahaputera Utama* [Star of the Eminent Great Son], as posthumous recognition of their father's contribution as a journalist to his country. Ironically, perhaps, the medal was not for his decades of service as a crusading journalist against corruption and political malfeasance. Instead, the accompanying citation noted that: 'During the struggle to defend independence, when the central government moved to Jogjakarta, the recipient demonstrated an extraordinary loyalty to the people and the nation, remaining in the occupied areas, heading Antara News Agency's office in Jakarta'. It specifically recognised Mochtar's 'great concern for the development of young journalists' demonstrated through 'educational programs and increasing the professionalism of journalists'.[57] For an editor who had spent most of his working life stripped of his daily newspaper, it was a telling official acknowledgement of his professional impact and legacy.

8 Conclusion

A life recalled

The professional life of Mochtar Lubis reflected much of the development of a democratic, secular, modernising tradition within the Indonesian media from 1945 to the turn of the century. Issues, such as what constituted a democratic media and how such a media might best be sustained and defended, were contested throughout Mochtar's life, both within the tradition of secular investigative journalism and by opponents to it. Such debates were part of a set of social processes within which Mochtar was enmeshed, seeking to give form and substance to both the Indonesian state itself and its particular political system, as well as to the institutions (like the media) through which Indonesian identity was envisioned. Media practitioners like Mochtar Lubis contributed significantly to the development of civil society and to the shaping of a (still malleable) political system. In this, despite his maverick tendencies, he was emblematic of an influential tradition which spawned a relatively small but assertive and articulate aggregation of urban liberal intellectual journalists across generations, amongst whom might be included well-known figures such as Rosihan Anwar, Aristides Katoppo, Sabam Siagian, Goenawan Mohamad, Wimar Witoelar, Bambang Harymurti, Atmakusumah Astraatmadja, Achmad Taufik, Tri Agus Siswomihardjo, Santoso, Satrio Arismunandar and Ayu Utami to name but a handful.

Mochtar Lubis was a hard man to pin down. He was, at various times, a newspaper editor, fiction and nonfiction writer, political activist, polemicist, business person, cultural administrator, political detainee, 'cultural broker', beneficiary of international fellowships and representative of Indonesia in international forums, to mention but a few of his prominent roles. How then might Mochtar Lubis's contribution to his society, its media and its politics be appraised, by sympathisers and critics, by journalists and intellectuals, by his colleagues and the generations that follow? For what qualities is he likely to be remembered?

Mochtar Lubis in the eyes of other Indonesians

Mochtar's reputation as crusader for media freedom was earned at considerable cost. By political sympathisers and opponents alike, his style of assertive – if not confrontational – journalism was regarded as more in keeping with the tradition of American than Indonesian (particularly Javanese) media practice.

Even sympathetic editors suspected he relished the role of 'professional hero', and was unconcerned should his political outspokenness – seen by many as 'grand-standing' – have led to the government tightening restrictions upon the media in general. Not uncommonly such sympathisers deemed his daring-do ultimately counterproductive, exacerbating rather than reversing the erosion of press freedoms. Even fellow editors within the secular modernising tradition judged him 'too libertarian'. While acknowledging Mochtar's undoubted personal courage, one quipped dismissively that it was easy to get a reputation for bravery since 'you can get arrested in just one day!' It was harder, he argued, to devise an astute strategy which could maintain one's political 'room to move' and professional credibility, so that one's paper could continue to inform, educate, reform and criticise. When asked whether people like Mochtar were useful as symbols of that particular style of journalism, he replied with a chuckle, 'Yes, but only after they're dead!'

Mochtar Lubis achieved this symbolic pinnacle well before his passing. Throughout the New Order, journalists continued to advocate his tactics although many (such as former *Indonesia Raya* staff-members) were forced out of work after the 1974 post-Malari bans. Of those early admirers of Mochtar Lubis who remained journalists, the views of some shifted as they matured in the profession. From being youthful admirers, some transformed into sceptics of the professional wisdom of taking umbrage with, and direct aim at, specific government actions unless these campaigns were of direct concern to ordinary newspaper readers. Mochtar's style was seen by some as too personalised. After Malari, the media shifted from the style of editorial control in which an editor personified the paper. Critics of this highly individualised style common in the 1950s felt Mochtar came across as too self-righteous, more interested in 'exposé journalism', than in a balanced presentation of the news.

One editor likened journalism to sport. Mochtar played tennis singles, the admirer suggested. A loner who played with enormous energy and good intentions, Mochtar smashed the ball powerfully all around the court, but with little finesse or subtlety. Sometimes he scored a grand slam, but his erratic style often achieved little. It is an exciting style of play to watch (particular for the uninitiated spectator, unaware of the game's intricacies), but it is counter-productive. The editor believed that, to be effective, a news organisation must play like a soccer team, strategising collectively with a common goal against a complex network of opponents. The team does not promote the personality of its editorial chief, but shifts focus as tactics demand, remaining in play and ready to strike on important issues.

Mochtar Lubis's style was regarded by such editors as anachronistic after the media crackdowns of the 1970s, when the nature of both the government and the press changed. The state was both powerful and confident enough to eliminate media opposition, and the media was becoming more professional, more commercial and industrial, and less driven by personalities. The press tactics of the 1950s, when power was less centralised, would not succeed in the 1980s, when bans were swift and recourse to the courts unlikely. As one editor saw it, Mochtar assumed that the press had a significant influence upon government – as may be

the case in the West – whereas under the New Order, those holding power were largely impervious to public (and press) opinion. As the media was transformed from a 'press of political struggle' into a business venture seeking to profit its shareholders, business efficiencies and aversion to financial risks from banning figured more prominently in organisational strategies. By the 1980s journalism had become an industry for professionals, not a grand personal crusade. Such pragmatic editors recognised that Mochtar disapproved of their more restrained tactics and regarded this as a moral compromise with the authorities. But, as one who admired Mochtar's intellectual curiosity and recognised his importance as a 'living symbol' for Indonesian journalists, expressed it, Mochtar

> doesn't appreciate the precarious position of Indonesian journalists and journalism now … and tends to see things in black and white as if we are all political whores. Now even in the whoring business there are nuances, and nuances are important! … This is not like the 50s … You cannot "do a Mochtar Lubis" these days … banging your head against the wall![1]

Even Mochtar's political opponents, former journalists with Leftist papers banned after 1 October 1965, acknowledged that he had been consistent, unwavering and prepared to take the consequences of his political actions. However, they interpreted this courage as deriving from recklessness and a shallow understanding of politics. His personal animosity for Sukarno, for example, outweighed his political acumen, they argued. If Mochtar saw himself as an arbiter, independent of party politics, analysing his society, these opponents regarded him as highly subjective and unconscious of his own biases.[2] Suspicious of Mochtar's proximity to Americans in the 1950s, such opponents were highly critical of his later business association with multinational companies which they interpreted as contradicting his declarations of nationalism. Such left-wing editors regarded his *Manusia Indonesia* lecture as 'insulting to the ordinary people' for not appreciating the inherent strengths in Indonesian culture. They saw his approach as characteristic of Socialist Party intellectuals. Mochtar had been doomed to perpetual opposition, they believed, by a poor instinct for practical politics and a penchant for romantic polemics.

Despite such criticisms from the Left, what is extraordinary is that, despite the vicissitudes of the times and his forced expulsion from the profession since 1975, Mochtar has remained a popular and admired figure for generations of young working journalists for half a century. In August 1957, during his house arrest, a press survey undertaken by the Indonesian Association of University Media and Politics Students found that *Indonesia Raya* and Mochtar Lubis were regarded as the best paper and best journalist. *Indonesia Raya* scored 425 out of 715 votes, while Mochtar garnered a whopping 531 out of 622 in the journalist category.[3] Four decades later, in 1996–98 Angela Romano surveyed Indonesian journalists as part of her investigation into the profession's image. When respondents were asked to nominate journalists and editors they regarded as 'role models, heroes or admirable professionals', Mochtar Lubis still ranked

highest, nominated by 41.5 per cent of respondents, significantly ahead of the next ranked, namely Goenawan Mohamad of *Tempo* magazine (27.7 per cent) and Rosihan Anwar (26.2 per cent).[4] When probed by Romano to define what drew them to such role models, respondents generally highlighted their 'crusader-like characteristics by maintaining bravery in opposing authorities (38.5 per cent), integrity (20 per cent) and watchdog skills (18.5 per cent)'.[5] Both Mochtar and Rosihan were additionally admired because, despite their advanced age, 'their zeal has not been extinguished'. Romano observed that the traits thus attributed were 'more commonly associated with the liberal watchdog' media rather than the New Order's so-called '*Pancasila* press'. So powerful has been the model of secular liberalism within the Indonesian media that the profession's heroes remain the exemplars of that tradition.

It was clearly the ascendant tradition after 1966 when, in the words of one journalist and activist who began his career with *Harian KAMI* [*KAMI Daily*] newspaper and remained an influential figure in the Indonesian media into the next century, Mochtar was 'our champion'.[6] Standing up for his principles and being prepared to risk the consequences made Mochtar an example of great courage for those young activists who believed many elders had been too compliant during Sukarno's Guided Democracy. However, within a few years of the re-establishment of *Indonesia Raya*, some former student journalists were becoming disappointed, both with *Indonesia Raya* and, to a lesser extent, with Mochtar Lubis himself. The paper seemed too sensationalist and superficial, with Mochtar failing to impress as a political analyst. Others felt the revived newspaper lacked direction and a sense of Mochtar's guiding hand. Some activists formerly associated with the underground Movement for the Renewal of Indonesia [GPI] felt distanced from Mochtar by the trappings of his increasing comfortable lifestyle.[7] That several of Mochtar's companies were enmeshed in protracted legal proceedings exacerbated scepticism in such circles about whether Mochtar could combine business with high moral principles.

Irrespective, Mochtar retained the admiration of the leadership of the 1973–74 student movement, many of whom had been on the streets in 1966. Decades later several leaders remembered discussions they had had with Mochtar in the years before 1974. They defended his role in stimulating public debate. It is not reasonable, said one, to expect such intellectuals to solve social and political problems, for they are not politicians skilled in *realpolitik*. This activist, detained like Mochtar after Malari, described the editor as Indonesia's 'little Solzhenitsyn' who dreamed of influencing those in power, but he stressed the limitations of such a role by adding, 'but don't think that Solzhenitsyn can replace Lenin!'[8]

From the late 1970s, Islam became more prominent as a unifying factor for young people critical of the New Order. This trend towards explicitly Islamic values tended to sideline Mochtar, who was decidedly secular. For some devout Muslims, Mochtar was too sympathetic to Israel in the Middle East conflict and too cavalier in his depiction of sex in his novels. At least one major Islamic leader in nongovernment organisations saw Mochtar as part of a group of secular intellectuals which, from the 1980s, was losing its political influence, failing to appreciate the mood of the broader community opposition to the New Order.[9]

While this prominent spokesperson for 'progressive' Muslims observed that Mochtar 'was outspoken … in a very uncompromising, but dignified way' during the 1950s and 1960s, after his Malari imprisonment Mochtar seemed somewhat unsettled, prone to more derisive and less dignified criticism. His commitment to democracy developed a tinge of desperation and frustration, with the 'derogatory style' of *Manusia Indonesia* cited as an example of the difficulties secular intellectuals had in appreciating how Indonesian government and society actually function. This leader observed that *Indonesia Raya* did not recognise how to work *with* government institutions, playing one section of government off against another to achieve goals by shrewdness rather than by blanket condemnation and direct attack.

Secular radical Arief Budiman, who greatly admired Mochtar, regarded him as unconscious of the biases of his own ideological perspective and disinclined to self-analysis. Arief believed that for Mochtar the state and the military were essentially neutral. It was individuals within the system that became corrupt because of character flaws and personal weaknesses.[10] He regarded Mochtar as 'not a social thinker in the sense of ranging over the complexities of society. He is more a moralist. A person who knows, by principle, what it is he wants to do and carries it out'.[11]

This moral rectitude featured prominently in the assessments of Mochtar by former politicians, military figures and colleagues who shared his political opposition to communism (and consequently for some, who shared also his experience of detention on occasion) since the 1950s. Celebrating Mochtar's sixtieth birthday on 7 March 1982, the cover story in the leading daily, *Kompas*, featured extensive comments from a range of acquaintances. Public praise by former Masyumi leader Mohamad Roem displayed how dearly Mochtar was regarded by some who shared Madiun prison with him. Roem admired his efforts on behalf of human rights, his artistic talent and his spirit. 'He is greatly needed by society', Roem said, 'although he is not "ideally" suited to his society'. Roem alluded to a taming of Mochtar's spirit, noting 'if he is changing somewhat that is, of course, because of his increasing age. His patience is growing and he is becoming more moderate according to the natural process of change'.[12] More pithily, however, Roem (whom Mochtar had once jibed 'stone headed' because of his stubbornness) summarised Mochtar's determination as 'granite-headed: tougher than stone'.

By the 1980s his increased moderation was recognised, too, by other friends from the 1950s and 1960s. In trying to understand why Mochtar's public statements had become milder and less frequent since the mid-1970s, human rights activist Princen highlighted the dilemma of someone who made their declarations of principles early in life, and then faced the discipline of having to live up to these for the remainder under intense public scrutiny. Any deviation was set upon by critics as hypocrisy, such as when detractors pointed to the apparent contradiction between Mochtar's business activities and his public concern for society's 'little people'.[13] Because Mochtar worked with multinational corporations 'in the jargon of socialist-communists he could be regarded as a comprador', said another fellow detainee from the 1960s, who added 'on the one hand he becomes the human

rights hero but on the other hand, in fact, he has become the tool of those who oppress human rights in the economic field, the multi-national corporations'.[14] On a personal level, Mochtar was seen by some Javanese friends as too 'business-like' in his dealings with people, inflexible and unaccommodating of different attitudes and ideas. His strong sense of confidence was interpreted by some as 'egotism', a trait of Western individualism.

Some colleagues went even further in identifying Mochtar with particular Western qualities. For R.S. Bratanata, a member of the 'Petition of 50' who had known Mochtar since the 1950s, the editor was a 'knight without fear' imbued with the European traditions of chivalry and honour. But his willingness to expose injustice, even if this jeopardised friendships, constrained intimacy, Bratanata felt.[15] Mochtar's sons also agreed that their father's strict moralism and preparedness to criticise people publicly, whoever they might be, led to him having many acquaintances but very few really intimate friends. Some of Mochtar's longest associates described him as a loner who rarely made close companions. Former air force major and member of the Jakarta Academy, H. Boediardjo, for example, described him (in English) as a 'lone ranger' – echoing more positively the 'cowboy' image attached to Mochtar by his leftist critics.[16]

Mochtar Lubis and his peers

Despite his reputation as a lone maverick, Mochtar is frequently compared with a range of other journalists, intellectuals and artists, within the broad secular modernising stream of Indonesian political life. It illustrates much of the role he played within the media and the arts in general.

Rosihan Anwar is in some ways, Mochtar Lubis's alter ego. Both were born in 1922 into aristocratic Sumatran families. Both fathers were assistant *demang* when these sons were born, and both later spent time as *demang* of Kerinci based in Sungai Penuh, where Rosihan's father replaced Mochtar's when Raja Pandapotan Lubis retired.[17] When Mochtar and Rosihan moved to Jakarta both gravitated towards the same circle of socialist-minded friends. Rosihan began work as a journalist with *Asia Raya* in 1943, was a cofounder of the weekly *Siasat* in 1947, and established the daily *Pedoman* in 1948. *Pedoman* was regarded as an organ of the PSI, and although Rosihan did not formally join the party until 1955 he was much nearer the centre of the Sjahrir circle than was Mochtar.

Pedoman, *Indonesia Raya* and Suardi Tasrif's Masyumi-oriented *Abadi* played very similar roles during the 1950s, expressing similar attitudes to the PKI, PNI and Sukarno, and siding with the regions in the centre-periphery tensions after 1955. All three editors were active members of the IPI, were hostile to Sukarno's initiatives to establish Guided Democracy; and all saw their newspapers cease publication by 1960. But, unlike Mochtar, Rosihan remained free and wrote in other publications using various pseudonyms.[18]

Pedoman and *Indonesia Raya* were re-established within weeks of each other in 1968, and banned within days in January 1974. But when Mochtar and Rosihan are spoken of together, it is usually the contrasts which are emphasised, and

sometimes the conflict and rivalry. Their most memorable conflict was in 1960, when Rosihan signed a compulsory 19-point declaration committing *Pedoman* to conform to the state ideology, and Mochtar consequently requested his suspension from the IPI. Their subsequent polemic was all the more bitter, because *Pedoman* was ultimately banned despite Rosihan's compromise. Years later, in an attempt to avoid a ban after Malari, on 22 January 1974 *Pedoman* published a public retraction of an implied criticism of Mrs Tien Suharto run ten days earlier, yet two days later its printing permit (SIC) was withdrawn regardless.[19] Incidents like these gained Rosihan a reputation as much more accommodationist than Mochtar.

During the New Order, Rosihan took an active role in the Indonesian Journalists' Association [PWI]. He was General Chairperson of the Central PWI (1968–74), although the intelligence organisation *Opsus* attempted to replace him with B.M. Diah at the 1970 Congress.[20] While Mochtar dismissed the PWI as seriously compromised because of such government interventions, Rosihan saw a benefit in working within the organisation as the best available vehicle to inculcate professional ethics and training.[21] In 1972, he was offered an ambassadorship in Hanoi (declining supposedly for 'family reasons'[22]) and was a Golkar member of parliament in the 1973 and 1978 sessions. While his articles were not known for a hard critical edge, he did muse in print on his willingness to accommodate himself within the New Order.[23] From the early 1960s Rosihan wrote widely on Islamic subjects. Islam was more important to his world view than to Mochtar's. Yet, many reformist-minded Muslim young people saw him as less principled than Mochtar, despite the latter's secular style. While Mochtar was inflexible, Rosihan often 'bent with the wind'.[24] Rosihan was aware that many regarded him as fickle and noncommittal.[25] However, his political acumen, appreciation of the complexities of media politics in the 1950s and early 1960s, and attempts to keep *Pedoman* critical but alive, were respected by working editors who appreciated just how difficult such survival was.[26]

Mochtar and Rosihan responded in different ways to the release of leftist political prisoners and rehabilitation of exiled Indonesian writers. For example, in 1995 (the year he objected so publicly to Pramoedya receiving the Magsaysay Award), Mochtar wrote a foreword for (and arranged for Obor to publish) a volume of memoirs about the November 1945 battle for Surabaya written by former left-wing General Suhario Padmodiwiryo. A decade later, in 2005, Rosihan also wrote the foreword to the autobiography of Umar Said, a former journalist with *Indonesia Raya* who later joined the left-wing *Harian Rakyat*, and spent his life in political exile after the 1965 coup.[27] These two forewords contrast markedly. Mochtar's was brief, factual, and avoided any reference to Suhario's leftist past. Rosihan's was personal, reflective and collegial, acknowledging Umar Said's political views while declaring his own rejection of communism. Mochtar remained emotionally at arm's length, while Rosihan allowed himself to be drawn into the complex yet humane story of political difference he shared with a man with whom he was ideologically opposed.

Despite their personal differences, Rosihan and Mochtar remained comrades-in-arms. In his obituary following Mochtar's death, Rosihan called for his life-long

colleague to be awarded the *Bintang Mahaputera* Award by the Indonesian government. In summing up Mochtar's life, Rosihan dubbed him the 'five-*wan* man' (playing on the Sanskritised Indonesian nominal ending-*wan*), who excelled as journalist (*wartawan*), artist (*seniman*), author (*sastrawan*), cultural figure (*budayawan*) and finally hero (*pahlawan*).

If Rosihan Anwar was occasionally Mochtar's polemical sparring partner, then B.M. Diah (1917–96), another member of the Indonesian IPI branch and five years their senior, was his arch adversary. *Merdeka*, established by a group which included B.M. Diah in 1945, provided the training ground for many of that generation's leading journalists. Although never a party organ, *Merdeka* was widely regarded as aligned with the PNI under Sukarno. Diah embraced Sukarno's populist style, while working assiduously to counter increasing PKI influence in the press.[28] The fictional editor, Halim, in *Twilight in Jakarta*, whom Mochtar based on Diah, is an unashamed opportunist who throws his paper behind whichever elite faction offers him most financial reward. After 1959, Diah had three ambassadorial postings, returning to Jakarta to become Minister of Information in July 1966, a post he held for two years. On various occasions, he and Mochtar exchanged accusations of personal and political impropriety through the pages of their newspapers, most spectacularly in 1971, leading to mutual (unresolved) libel cases. Admirers of Mochtar Lubis were particularly critical of Diah's willingness to collaborate with intelligence chief General Ali Murtopo in his 1970 bid to wrest leadership of the PWI from Rosihan Anwar. After Malari, when Diah (and other PWI officials) claimed on television that freedom of the press was guaranteed in Indonesia, Mochtar noted in his diary, 'This is a joke that is not funny'.[29] While Mochtar and Diah maintained a public display of bonhomie when they meet socially, acquaintances saw it as camouflaging deeper animosity.

Mochtar Lubis was critical too of a tradition of 'Javanese journalism' epitomised by P.K. Ojong (1920–80) and Jakob Oetama, who cofounded *Kompas* in 1965, built it into Indonesia's most successful daily newspaper, and then the country's largest media conglomerate, with a network of associated businesses. Both men had strong Catholic backgrounds, with Ojong serving on the Catholic Party leadership from 1964 to 1968. Like Mochtar, Ojong[30] had been attracted to the Congress for Cultural Freedom before 1965, and had provided reading materials for Mochtar in Madiun prison. Mochtar respected Ojong, and in a December 1972 *Indonesia Raya* editorial defended him against anti-Chinese slurs.[31] Ojong had joined with Mochtar on such projects as the Indonesia Foundation, *Horison*, and Obor in the early New Order period. After Ojong's death in 1980, Jakob Oetama acceded to many of his positions on such bodies and was, like Mochtar, on the Supervisory Board of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute Foundation.

Partners Jakob Oetama and Ojong worked harmoniously on *Kompas* for 15 years. According to Jakob Oetama, 'our views on fundamental social issues were the same, while our differences were more to do with style and our subcultural backgrounds'.[32] The pair guided *Kompas* through various government

crackdowns, expanding it into the country's largest, most respected daily paper, while maintaining a political autonomy from the government.[33] But their restrained style of journalism did not impress Mochtar, who wrote in his Nirbaya diary that numerous friends advocated he emulate Jakob Oetama, using allusions so as not to offend government. He rejected such appeals because 'in my experience this method is not productive either. Those to whom it is directed do not feel such subtle innuendoes in the slightest … If the Jakob Oetama approach is … continued, then this will only reinforce feudal cultural values in the face of power'.[34] While not doubting Jakob Oetama's integrity, Mochtar believed the indirect 'Javanese' approach was ultimately counterproductive.

Although also Javanese, Mochtar's sometime business colleague and cabinet minister Sumitro Djojohadikusumo (1917–2001) was a very different figure from those discussed so far. For most of his working life he was Indonesia's best known economist, holding cabinet positions on many occasions between 1950 and 1978. A PSI leader who challenged Sjahrir's leadership in 1956, he was a principal leader of the PRRI rebellion, subsequently spending nearly a decade in exile. He and Mochtar shared similar attitudes to the central government during the PRRI rebellion, and to Sukarno during Guided Democracy, during which time Sumitro tried, while abroad, to organise opposition to overthrow Sukarno.[35] The two men became business partners in Indoconsult soon after Sumitro's return from abroad in 1967 and when Sumitro became Minister of Trade in June 1968, it was with Mochtar's full agreement.

The invitation to Sumitro to join the New Order government came during the honeymoon period, when Mochtar supported Suharto's ascension. Mochtar's disillusionment with the New Order after the 1971 Elections and his growing criticism of the figures around the President during 1973–74 indicate his attitudes to the government diverged from those of his former business partner. However, Sumitro's departure from the Trade Ministry in 1972 (into the less powerful post of Minister of National Research for the next six years) was hastened by differences of opinion with the President over the implementation of economic policy. Mochtar's relationship with Sumitro (one of whose sons married a Suharto daughter) was one focus of his interrogation after Malari.[36] Mochtar retained his respect for Sumitro, despite their divergent attitudes to collaborating with the New Order.[37] Mochtar's identification with opposition groups, like the Petition of 50, was compatible with his respect for the role 'honest professionals' and technocrats could play within government.

One of the most outspoken of the 'honest professionals' who had initially supported the New Order only to become a strident critic was Adnan Buyung Nasution. Born in Jakarta in 1934, Buyung Nasution emerged to political prominence in 1966 as a leader of the Indonesian Graduates Action Front [*Kesatuan Aksi Sarjana Indonesia*, KASI], established in support of the newly formed student body, KAMI. He was a nominated member of the People's Representative Council [*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR] from 1966 until sacked two years later for his criticism of the army. A fiery orator, Buyung was a popular figure for the 1966 students, frequently speaking on campuses and contributing

to student and other newspapers. Both he and Mochtar were Mandailingers, born outside the Mandailing heartland with few roots there.

In 1971, Buyung Nasution founded the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), which grew into one of the largest and certainly the boldest nongovernment organisation. Right through till the fall of Suharto Buyung Nasution remained a prominent member of the secular intellectual opposition, advocating devolution of political control and effective implementation of social justice. The LBH had a unique place in the informal Opposition, for its legal defence of student radicals and others charged with subversion, its advocacy for structural legal changes to empower the poor, and its grass roots work with disadvantaged groups.[38] In 1972, the year after founding the LBH, Buyung Nasution was *Indonesia Raya*'s 'Man of the Year'. After Malari, he was detained for 22 months and, although he was not in Nirbaya with Mochtar, they met on visits to the military hospital. Mochtar admired the defiant Buyung, who 'refused to be interrogated because he strongly feels he was arrested unlawfully.[…] Indonesia needs more lawyers like him[… He] is really fighting and suffering for his idea to establish the rule of law in this country'.[39]

If Mochtar was seen by some as calmer after the Malari detention, it had no such effect upon Buyung Nasution. Twelve years younger than Mochtar, he retained the passionate style of a man aware of the political potency of public confrontation with authority structures over matters of principle. He remained the defence counsel of choice in the most controversial political trials, appearing for the New Order's staunchest opponents, and paying the price as, for example, in 1986, when he was charged with contempt of court after one particularly impassioned courtroom defence. Mochtar and Buyung Nasution shared a principled stubbornness, common goals of social justice, and advocacy the 'rule of law' as protection against the abuse of power. Like Mochtar, the well-accoutred Buyung was also criticised by younger activists for his comfortable lifestyle.

Of the writers and artists with whom Mochtar Lubis was often compared, three stood out: Takdir Alisjahbana, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and W.S. Rendra.

Takdir Alisjahbana (1908–94), published his first novel in 1929, was founding editor of the influential literary journal, *Pujangga Baru*, in 1933, and inaugural chairperson of the Jakarta Academy (1973–94). Mochtar admired much about the pro-Western position which Takdir took in the 'Cultural Polemic' of the 1930s. Like Mochtar, Takdir maintained a relatively constant literary output throughout his working life. By 1979, Teeuw categorised them as 'Old Veterans',[40] and both were largely dismissed after the 1980s by younger artists at TIM as amongst the Old Guard of the literary establishment. The didacticism of their fiction drew criticism from those (like Teeuw) who believed explicit 'sermons' weakened their novels. Takdir was a member of the PSI and, like Mochtar, identified with its more militantly anti-Sukarno wing during Guided Democracy, spending time in quasi-exile as a lecturer at the University of Malaya. Both were associated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom and were members of various liberal-oriented international organisations. Largely due to his contributions to cultural polemics

over the decades Takdir came to typify intellectual pro-Westernism and hostility to Javanese mysticism, feudalism and leftist populism.

Celebrating Takdir's seventieth birthday at TIM in 1978 Mochtar Lubis eulogised on his contributions to Indonesian society, describing him 'as an Indonesian 'giant' of a man, of whom there have been so few in the history of our nation'.[41] Praising the breadth of Takdir's achievements, Mochtar described him as more than a 'Renaissance' man for he had not only conquered the past but also designed and striven towards his own vision of the future. Involvements during the latter phase of his life included the Toyabungkah cultural centre he established in Bali, the World Future Studies Federation based in Rome, and the International Association for Art and the Future he founded in the late 1970s. Takdir's interest in 'future studies' was analogous, in many ways, to Mochtar's excitement about environmentalism since the early 1970s. Long-time Rector of the National University, Takdir had more impressive academic credentials than Mochtar, and was a more systematic thinker with a greater intellectual range, yet never sharing Mochtar's strongly political interests.

One author who did share Mochtar's awareness of the importance of politics, albeit while embracing a markedly contrary view was Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1925–2006). As Mochtar may be viewed as a politically committed author in the *Gelanggang* tradition, so Pramoedya can be seen as a leading LEKRA author. Their early novels, *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* and *Keluarga Gerilya*, published within two years of each other, were highly praised by Teeuw and Jassin, and regarded as major achievements of the 1945 Generation of writers. Mochtar became involved in Western-bloc organisations with American sympathies; Pramoedya developed radical nationalist and leftist commitments which led him to join LEKRA in 1958. When it was announced that Mochtar had received the Magsaysay Award, Pramoedya reportedly accused him of being an 'imperialist stooge';[42] years later Mochtar responded by returning his Magsaysay in disgust when Pramoeyda received the same honour. In 1961, Pramoedya was detained for nearly a year over his sympathetic history of the Overseas Chinese in Indonesia.[43] After his release, as editor of the cultural page, *Lentera*, in the radical leftist daily *Bintang Timur*, Pramoedya was extremely critical of Jassin and the Cultural Manifesto group. Arrested again on 13 October 1965, he was detained until 20 December 1979, spending ten years on Buru penal island. After his release, the New Order proceeded to ban each of his new works as they appeared in print.[44]

Thus, both spent long periods in detention because their political activities; both infused their literary works with a strong, if contrary, political commitment. With H.J.C. Princen and Soebadio Sastrosatomo, they are among a select few to have been detained for lengthy periods during the presidencies of both Sukarno and Suharto. During their detentions, they were the focus of considerable international attention and protest by organisations like Amnesty International. Mochtar Lubis was displaced as the Indonesian fiction writer most translated into foreign languages only when translations of Pramoedya's *Bumi Manusia* quartet began appearing abroad in 1982.[45] They are unquestionably Indonesia's

best known novelists abroad. Unlike Mochtar who came out of jail in 1966 to an heroic reception, trips abroad and an informal offer of a ministerial position, Pramoedya returned from Buru to face a New Order regime which banned his publications, denied him the freedom to speak publicly, restricted his freedom of travel overseas, and required him to report regularly for many years.

Mochtar's unremitting opposition to Pramoedya's ideas and anything which promoted them, exemplified by his vehement opposition to the Magsaysay Award, meant he largely misread the mood of the artistic community at the turn of the new century. The leftists were being accepted back, and lauded for their literary and artistic achievements, at home and abroad. Soon after the two-day memorial conference at the Jakarta Arts Centre celebrating Mochtar's life and work in August 2004, were eightieth birthday celebrations there also for two major leftist artists, the poet Sitor Situmorang and Pramoedya himself. All three were former political prisoners; all three were 'driven' men, unswerving and determined in their art and their politics. Yet, it was Pramoedya rather than Mochtar who better symbolised Indonesia's literary achievements internationally as the country moved into the new century.

Celebrated poet and playwright W.S. Rendra (1935–2009) inhabited the political middle ground between Mochtar Lubis and Pramoedya. Although active in the 1950s, Rendra achieved national prominence only after he returned from theatrical studies in America in 1967 and established his *Bengkel* [Workshop] theatre troupe, which rehearsed in a Jogjakarta kampung and performed in the open air in surrounding kampungs and villages. In the early 1970s, Rendra played a role in the Moral Force movement against corruption, reading his increasingly critical poetry at demonstrations and on campuses. In 1973, his play *Mastadon dan Burung Kondor* [The Mastadon and the Condors][46] was performed only after General Soemitro, the head of the Security Command, countermanded a police ban. Rendra gained the respect of leaders of the 1973–74 student movement and captured the swelling mood of student defiance in his critical 'pamphlet poetry'.[47] After a reading of these at TIM in April 1978, he was detained for three and a half months and was then unable to get permission to perform publicly until December 1985.

Mochtar Lubis, Pramoedya Ananta Toer and Rendra represent something of the diversity of the informal political opposition among writers and cultural figures. Mochtar helped legitimise the New Order, then became disillusioned with it, joining dissident lobby groups of prestigious figures like the Institute for Constitutional Awareness and using public forums like TIM and the media to criticise society and urge the government to reform. Pramoedya, denied a voice in public forums, was a symbol of the leftists whose opposition to the New Order was more fundamental. With his dogged resistance to the New Order's restrictions he affirmed the continuing influence of traditions of socialism and populist nationalism suppressed after 1965. His writings set an agenda for radicals well beyond the group of leftist former political prisoners. His banned (but widely circulated) publications opened up debate on the interpretation of Indonesian history among young intellectuals and activists. The attention his historical writing

generated contrasted starkly with the lack of domestic interest in Mochtar's attempt to write a national history in *Het land onder de regenboog: de geschiedenis van Indonesie*.

Rendra, a more accessible figure than Pramoedya, made repeated efforts to take his poetry to audiences outside the major cultural venues. He drew large crowds of mainly young people to his 'impromptu' readings, and skilfully deployed theatrical flair to make his political point. In the decade from the mid-1970s, it was Rendra rather than Mochtar who symbolised the socially committed artist for the emerging generation of activists. Unlike Rendra, Mochtar never encouraged younger admirers to bond to him as *anak buah* [*protégé*].[48] His attention was also divided between business, journalism and international commitments. Rendra was 13 years younger, active domestically, mixing and discussing issues with the student leaders, and cultivating an intense personal following, through the theatrical training program of the Bengkel Theatre.

The way Rendra gradually eclipsed Mochtar in the artistic sphere is analogous to Mochtar's declining appeal to the student movement with the rise of younger, more intellectually and analytically oriented leaders, like Dorodjatun Kuntjoro Jakti, Adi Sasono, Dawam Rahardjo, Mulya Lubis and, after his return from America, Arief Budiman. This was partly a result of Mochtar growing older and more contemplative, but it also reflected the increasing appeal of structural ideas to students convinced of the imperviousness of the regime to appeals for far-reaching reform.

Reviewing strengths

Individual comparisons may often be to Mochtar's detriment. He emerges as having been less subtle than Rosihan Anwar, less effective as an institution builder than Jakob Oetama or Buyung Nasution, a less systematic thinker than Takdir Alisjahbana, a political prisoner who gained his international stature for less physical and psychological hardship than Pramoedya, an artist less deeply rooted in Indonesian society than either Pramoedya or Rendra. Yet, he synthesised such an array of skills, achievements and character strengths that few will dwell upon his many limitations.

As a crusading journalist, Mochtar Lubis demonstrated persistent courage, fiery moral passion and stubborn determination. Described by political analyst Jamie Mackie as 'the most courageous and outspoken maverick in the postindependence history of Indonesian journalism', Mochtar's example, though 'not always easy for outsiders to comprehend', proved 'illuminating precisely because he was such an atypical nonconformist'.[49] For young journalists, Mochtar was an influential symbol, a man committed to a particular view of what the profession should do and be, who stood up for his principles and took the consequences. If he could not publish what he believed needed to be said, he accepted the banning of his newspaper rather than compromise. His direct, unyielding, crusading journalism ended in defeat in both the 1950s and the 1970s. But the inspirational force of the attempt was great, because large numbers of Indonesians, both journalists and

newspaper readers, resented the alternative, of cautious and ambiguous journalism which dominated Indonesian journalism for decades.

Mochtar is remembered more for what he opposed than for what he supported. In the 1950s, he personified passionate opposition to communism, radical nationalism and the party system and, above all, to the growing power of President Sukarno. Indeed, Sukarno was the principal target of his criticisms, representing almost all that Mochtar despised. Mochtar regarded him as pompous, promiscuous, hedonistic, opportunistic, power hungry, ill-disciplined, and hypocritical and saw a close connection between these personal weaknesses and what Mochtar regarded as the shortcomings of Sukarno's political outlook, which he perceived as feudalistic, irrational, irresponsibly agitational and pro-communist. He saw Sukarno as driven to these 'heights of folly and distortion [by a belief in a] mytho-mystical force',[50] and felt a responsibility to challenge and expose the traditional feudal, mystical and obscurantist mentalities, which he believed Sukarno was exploiting, and which he saw as inhibiting the development of a modern democratic nation.

Mochtar's attacks on the New Order, and particularly Pertamina's Ibnu Sutowo in the 1970s, were conducted with a similar crusading zeal, and again for reasons which reflect his puritanical moralism. Ibnu Sutowo's flamboyant opulence and his cavalier disregard of his responsibilities to the government's budget managers angered Mochtar far more than the ruthless and widely feared intelligence chief, Ali Murtopo, and very much more than the enigmatic, undemonstrative Suharto did. The ignominious crash of Ibnu Sutowo and Pertamina in 1975–76 was a powerful vindication of the stand which Mochtar had taken against them.

Mochtar Lubis is also remembered as a pioneering mediator, networker and 'cultural broker' between Indonesia and the West, especially the US, and between Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries. From his early books on the United States, Southeast Asia and the Korean War, to his participation in the International Press Institute and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, his later involvement in the Press Foundation of Asia, and his central role in the publishing venture, Obor, he functioned as a conduit, a synapse, or interactive junction in the flow of ideas and information between Indonesia and the outside world.

Throughout his life, Mochtar Lubis displayed a remarkable consistency of worldview and a tenacity in his commitments. His early family life and schooling left a legacy of stern respect for self-discipline, a strong sense of the importance of honour, a view that right and wrong can and must be sharply distinguished, and a belief that individuals must take personal responsibility for their actions. His education emphasised the importance of rational problem solving and a sense that privileged members of a small educated elite had a special responsibility to shape the nation's future. The nationalism he embraced at high school in Kayutanam was easily compatible with an outward-looking internationalism and with the humanism which characterised his secularist outlook.

The Revolution linked his sense of the importance of honour with admiration for the military. He came to have particular admiration for the Siliwangi officers, whom he saw as able professionals who had shown their skill and patriotism in

holding the colonial power at bay and putting down a Communist uprising. His respect for the military contrasted with his scorn for civilian politicians, especially those he regarded as irresponsible rabble rousers. Aggressively 'anti-party', Mochtar always regarded himself as a democrat, but his concept of 'democracy' sat comfortably with the prohibition of left wing parties after 1966, lest communism or agitational politics re-emerge. While he condemned militarism as totalitarian, his faith in the military as an institution, defending democracy, against political extremism, remained undiminished. He condemned individual officers, never the military as such.

A passionate, self-confessed democrat, committed nationalist and anticommunist, Mochtar Lubis will be more remembered as maverick than institution builder, for what he opposed than for what he proposed. But the media – and the profession of journalist – in Indonesia would not be what it is today without his contribution as one of the industry's most potent symbols. For those who admired him Mochtar Lubis was, in the words of his friend and *Indonesia Raya* colleague Atmakusumah, 'like a star in the heavens, out of reach, yet of enormous benefit as a guide for those who have lost their compass in the midst of the ocean and who can no longer see the lighthouse in the dark'.[51]

Postscript

The objectification of Mochtar Lubis

In his essays on ethics and life writing, Thomas Couser argues that writing about someone else's life potentially involves a betrayal of that person's confidences. One strategy for minimising this is what he refers to as 'transactional visibility', achieved when the terms and implications of that 'partnership' are made available for inspection by subjects and, ideally, by consumers of any resulting text. Couser recommends 'the inclusion in collaborative narratives of accounts of the transactions and negotiations that produced them'.[1] Essentially, it is a call for a biographer to be honest with the subject and the reader about the nature and purpose of that relationship. At the risk of appearing self-indulgent, let me attempt to make transparent the nature of this particular 'partnership'.[2]

On 8 January 1980, an admiring 25-year old Australian student wrote apprehensively in clumsy, flawed Indonesian to one of Indonesia's most internationally regarded authors and journalists, a man who had reached the zenith of his career then two months away from his 58th birthday.

> Several months ago I began research for my Ph.D in the field of modern Indonesian literature and, in connection with this, I am writing to you to ask whether you have any objections if I use your works as material for my doctoral thesis.
>
> At this moment I am still at the stage of doing background reading, that is reading your novels, essays and journalistic works and looking for data on your life story and political activities. However, before I become too caught in this research I want to ensure that you have no objections. […]
>
> Perhaps I may pass on to you the reason why I have chosen you as the topic for my thesis. Firstly, I admire you as someone who has the courage and honesty to criticise power-holders in Indonesia openly. Secondly I am very attracted to your novels and I feel the novels need to be examined in more depth. Thirdly, I am attracted to the field of journalism in Indonesia, which has experienced a period of critical development and you have had a valuable contribution to the development and freedom of the press in Indonesia. […]
>
> This letter is just to inform you of the purpose of my study. I hope that you do not have any objections regarding this research, in fact I would hope to get as much help as possible from you in the future.

The reply, also in Indonesian, on 21 January, was swift and encouraging:

> Dear Mr Hill,
> I have no objections whatsoever concerning your interest in conducting the study you intend. As one who respects academic freedom, I completely respect your right to conduct the study you desire. […]
> I thank you for your interest in my literary and journalistic works, which are not of great consequence.
> Greetings and prayers,
> Mochtar Lubis

It was an encouraging endorsement, an auspicious commencement to what was to be a puzzling, often tense, relationship between a biographer and the person about whom he chose to write, a relationship which was to experience many of the problems inherent to the process of writing a biography of a living person. Such dilemmas are not made easier by operating across cultures and languages in an attempt to make sense of one person and his role in his society, in terms determined by an observer from another. Indeed, as Geertz has noted, when referring to the work of the outsider anthropologist, the

> gap between engaging others where they are and representing them where they aren't, always immense but not much noticed, has suddenly become extremely visible. What once seemed only technically difficult, getting 'their' lives into 'our' works, has turned morally, politically, even epistemologically, delicate.[3]

Epistemological doubt

I seek here to unpick some of the ethical and epistemological stitching that has enabled this biography to be sown together. If your interest is in Mochtar Lubis rather than in how this book came to be written, you may wish to stop reading now. For what follows is my reflection upon the transition which takes place between the selection of an academic 'subject', commencing the task of writing a biography of a particular person and the transformation of that person into the 'object' of scrutiny and study. Since I commenced this journey while Mochtar Lubis was alive, and since he kindly consented to numerous interviews, this process of 'objectification' has been a peculiarly engaging and intricate relationship spanning nearly a quarter of a century.

Some aspects of this dynamic are relatively obvious. As Shelston has noted, '[t]he biographer is always likely to turn to a subject with whom he [sic] has instinctive sympathy, and in doing so, to reveal as much of himself as he does of his subject'.[4] What the biographer produces is a textual 'object individual' in a biography which is a refraction of the biographer and which can be read as much for insight into the biographer as into the purported 'object'. It is not surprising that biography may also be regarded as a form of (often unconscious) autobiography.

As Robert Gittings, and others, have pointed out 'a biography is always apt to be more than an exploration of one's subject; it becomes, at every step, an exploration of oneself'.[5]

Irrespective of the often-admirable intent of those who embark upon the task, a biography is never, nor could it be, some perfect value-neutral totality encompassing the entire 'real' story of the person concerned. Some have argued that the biography is part history, part novel; that the 'biographer will overlap with the historian on the one hand and with the novelist on the other'.[6]

Interpretations influenced by developments in the study of literary texts would assert that the process of writing biography is substantially more complex, less transparent; arguing that a biography itself is 'fiction', produced by a (albeit well-intentioned) biographer endeavouring to catch the essence of the 'object individual', much as in the fiction of the novelist the writer of that genre may strive to capture a verisimilitude in its characters.

The implications of this interpretation for my own work are ponderous. Briefly it implies that there was a flesh-and-blood person called Mochtar Lubis; as biographer of this individual, I have produced a 'textual Mochtar Lubis', a process of production which is not altogether different from Mochtar Lubis's production of the characters in his novels. The relationship between the human and the 'textual' Mochtar Lubis is complex, mediated through the biographer and potentially reinterpreted by every reader of the biography, each one of whom is capable of producing another 'Mochtar Lubis' from their particular reading of the text/biography.

What then was the process of desanctification which resulted in this biography of Mochtar Lubis? These reflections are uncomfortably personalised, spawned perhaps by what Tedlock has dubbed 'today's general intellectual climate of epistemological doubt'[7]. They speculate upon the pitfalls of direct personal interaction and engagement with the contemporary 'object individual' and describe a continuing process of doubt about the role and product of the biographer.

Personal relationship

One year and five days after the initial letter from Mochtar Lubis he opened the screen door of his Jakarta house to me for the first time. It was difficult not to be impressed on initially meeting him. I was immediately struck by his stature, and then his relaxed informality. He was more than six feet tall and dressed casually in blue jeans and a plain cream short-sleeved cotton shirt.

He greeted me warmly, with fluent English, a broad smile and a lively glimmer in his eyes. A sensitive host, perhaps to put me at ease, he first showed me around the large front rooms of his home pointing out various favourite carvings or paintings – his own or those of famous friends – adorning the high walls. The old Dutch colonial-style house, in the prestigious central Jakarta suburb of Menteng, had been his home since 1945. It had a comfortable, open 'lived in' atmosphere, with a decor of Indonesian *objet d'art* and antiques.

Mochtar Lubis chatted about his growing artistic interest in the water-colour medium, and described the satisfaction he got from wood carving, furniture making, orchid cultivation, ceramics and his various other craft skills. The conversation flowed smoothly, buoyed along by the warmth of his sprightly humour and husky chuckle. His lined, pliant face radiated intellectual vitality and an enjoyment of life.

He struck me as a handsome, sensual man, with a strong pride in his physical fitness. His body was trim and taut, but his height lent him a looseness of limb which accentuated the relaxed image as he lay back in his chair, his arms spread wide or cocked behind his head. When stressing a point, he would shift forward leaning across his thighs as if physically backing his argument.

During this three hour interview, he ranged eclectically over the breadth and variety of his activities, achievements and opinions: personal and professional reminiscences, political attitudes, ecological issues, his current artistic projects, the state of the press in Indonesia, his family and more.

Our conversations were punctuated by the occasional visitor: a writer from Malaysia, an admirer wanting an autograph, a former student activist borrowing a camera. All throughout, questions were fielded with the grace and dexterity of a man who had spent his professional life interviewing and being interviewed.

I left this first meeting much as I had responded to his first letter, feeling honoured to have been given such privileged access to a man who, as an author and newspaper editor, had gained a national and international reputation. The years that have followed this first meeting have been an ongoing attempt, specifically to come to terms with that image in the writings that resulted, and, more generally, to understand and operate within the complex and often turbulent relationship between the biographer and the person about whom the biographer writes.

Reputation and representation

Mochtar Lubis and his writings had long been a popular *entré* for many Westerners – both scholars and nonspecialists – as they sought to learn about Indonesia.[8] I was initially attracted to Mochtar Lubis during my first year's university study of Indonesian in 1974. I struggled to translate a chapter about him in our textbook, which said: 'He always defended and fought for freedom of the press and he did not belong to any political party. He often wrote articles about Indonesian social injustice and also opposed and criticised corruption and the abuse of governmental power, and [he] struggled for democracy'.[9]

In addition, as part of my undergraduate Indonesian course I read two novels by Mochtar Lubis, *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* [Road with no end], (in Indonesian) and *Twilight in Jakarta* (in English), his short story collection *Si Jamal*, and several other stories. Professor Anthony Johns, translator of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung*, spoke to us of Mochtar Lubis's principles and courage. Press reports reinforced this image, as one of the country's leading authors and cultural figures,

most heroic opponents of President Sukarno, most renowned political prisoners (restricted under various forms of detention for more than nine years), and most outspoken editors, whose vociferous *Indonesia Raya* daily newspaper was banned on numerous occasions.

As my initial letter to him indicates, when I embarked on postgraduate research in 1979 the aura of Mochtar Lubis was part of the reason for my choice. It was a choice marked by its point in time. I had spent three months travelling through Indonesia in late 1973, and commenced my undergraduate studies the following year, the month after Jakarta had been rocked by the *Malari* rioting and civil unrest, and for alleged complicity in which Mochtar Lubis was detained in 1975. As in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Mochtar was one of the country's most talked about political prisoners. It was, in a sense, an Indonesian liberal intellectual's vision of the society that I imbibed as an undergraduate, a vision in which Mochtar featured positively. I admired the bravery and determination of an individual jailed, not once, but several times, for speaking his mind.

During the course of two years doctoral fieldwork in Indonesia I talked about Mochtar Lubis to a large number of people, people of different generations and occupations, and a great variety of political outlooks. I heard a range of attitudes towards him, from staunch supporters who had worked with him on the newspaper *Indonesia Raya* to former leftist political prisoners who were scornful of much he represented. The level of criticism, even from those generally sympathetic to him and his political views, was considerable. When I arrived in Jakarta in December 1980 the last major contingent of untried leftist political prisoners, released in late 1979 after their enforced absence of 15 years, were at least accessible to discreet foreign researchers even if they were still unable to challenge the New Order version of history publicly. Their analyses of Indonesian political history, of the New Order, of *Malari*, of the role of liberal intellectuals like Mochtar, provided an increasingly stark contrast to the vision I had brought to fieldwork. Student and Non-Government Organisation activists, both former *Malari* leaders, and younger strategists emerging in the 1980s, were much more critical of Mochtar's leadership and role in the opposition movement, of his personal style, than I had anticipated. His journalist colleagues and protégés, too, spoke much more critically of his editorial strategies for *Indonesia Raya*, which had ultimately resulted in the paper's demise over a matter of principle.

As I acquired more material about his attitudes, behaviour and activities, as various informants provided their particular views of the man, I was increasingly challenged to think critically about his reputation and what Edels would refer to a his 'life-myth'.[10] I came to believe that any biography of Mochtar Lubis should record and evaluate the arguments of those sections of the Indonesian community that are critical of him and the roles he has played.

During twelve interviews (and various other meetings) with Mochtar Lubis over 14 months, some degree of personal relationship developed between us. I began to realise I was a participant (certainly inconsequential, but nonetheless interacting) in a continuing 'history'. Confidentialities were exchanged, personal information was entrusted and ideas were discussed, disputed and probed. I became

unconvinced by some of his answers, frustrated by his deflections, aware of contradictions and, probing further, realised just how sensitive were some aspects of his life. Conflicts emerged within me, for while my personal admiration for the man and his principled tenacity remained, queries increased about his role in Indonesia.

Personal tensions developed. We had two lengthy discussions concerning a draft manuscript I had written about him, in response to a request from an Indonesian publisher, which wanted to publish a short biographical paperback about him. Our first meeting after he read that draft was an amicable discussion over lunch, together with his wife, Hally, at their home. The next, rather spirited, was at the office of the Obor Foundation. At the first, he suggested my approach was reinforcing the myths about him, by beginning from the assumption that he was 'a superman' and then criticising him for not living up to that reputation in every aspect of his life.[11] At the second cathartic discussion the following day, he reacted very differently, having since had some feedback from the Obor staff, who regarded the portrayal as unflattering. He disputed an interpretation in my draft, observing that the way I discussed certain aspects of his life revealed as much about myself and my values as it did about him.

Mochtar was correct on both counts. The picture of him that I had when I embarked on my fieldwork was indeed larger than life. It was necessary for me to strive to overcome any disenchantment. His second observation raised the biographer's dilemma of how to judge what to include in such a study.

Subsequently, although I made minor changes to the draft manuscript to take Mochtar's concerns into account and left it in the hands of the publisher before leaving Indonesia at the completion of my fieldwork, the work was never published. The publishing house, owned by a neighbour of Mochtar's, may have regarded the manuscript as unsuitable for a variety of reasons, one of which may have been Mochtar's unfavourable attitude towards it.

Objectification

The dilemma of 'objectifying' Mochtar Lubis for the purposes of writing the biography was exacerbated by the tensions surrounding the draft manuscript I gave to him, and to several other informants, for comments. In it I had mentioned his membership of the international intellectuals' lobby group, the Congress for Cultural Freedom. I described the CCF as strongly anticommunist and noted it was funded covertly by the American Central Intelligence Agency until exposure in the US press in 1967 stopped this flow. I mentioned further how Ivan Kats, a former CCF official in the European headquarters, who was a close personal friend of Mochtar's, had joined with him in establishing the Obor foundation in 1970. While Mochtar had initially refrained from commenting on this section during our first discussion of the draft, after friends had drawn his attention to it, he stated at Obor that he found my treatment of these sensitive connections 'tendentious' and 'non-scholarly'. He emphasised (as I believed I had acknowledged in the draft) that the CIA funding was unknown to him and to the CCF membership at large,

that there were several people involved in establishing Obor, and that my biases has led me to accent particular facts rather than other mitigating evidence.

In the wake of the Obor discussion, I found it increasingly difficult to get appointments with Mochtar. I sensed that he interpreted my critical analysis as a betrayal of his confidences and cooperation. I doubt this was a conscious response on his part, more an instinctive withdrawal in the face of what was therefore perceived as an unsympathetic interviewer. In retrospect, it is not surprising that such a draft generated such a hostile reaction given, as James Walter, biographer of Australian Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, has pointed out 'the preservation of [a public figure's] image is not shaped simply by the demands of the public persona, but maybe also by the unrecognized imperatives of the psyche.[… All] of us construct a self-image which protects us from acknowledging certain aspects of ourselves, and … it might never be in our interests to have that sense of self challenged or weakened by probing'.[12]

There were other theoretical and methodological lessons to be learned from Mochtar's response for, as Ferrarotti has noted, the biographer: 'is radically implicated in his [sic] research, that is in the field of the object under his investigation. The latter, far from being passive, continually modifies his behaviour according to the behaviour of the observer. This circular feed-back process renders any presumption of objective knowledge simply ridiculous. Knowledge … should have as its object the inextricable and absolutely reciprocal interaction between the observer and the observed. It will thus become a mutually shared knowledge rooted in the intersubjectivity of the interaction, a knowledge all the more profound and objective as it becomes integrally and intimately subjective'.[13]

Between the Obor conversation in March and my departure from Indonesia in December, I was not able to arrange another interview with Mochtar, despite telephoning on various occasions for an appointment. He was always busy or abroad, although our paths crossed socially on several occasions, when we would acknowledge each other politely. The relationship had cooled tangibly.

I concluded my fieldwork in Indonesia with considerable disappointment and despondency, even a sense of professional failure, recognising that the biography would only be written at personal cost, the deterioration of what had been for me a highly stimulating and personally satisfying relationship (though obviously never an equal one) with Mochtar Lubis, a relationship which I would have preferred to sustain. The potential for such disappointment over the interactive biographer-object relationship was, in retrospect, predictable, given Ferrarotti's further contention that: 'The price to be paid by the observer for a thorough and, more pointedly, scientific knowledge of his [sic] object will be to be reciprocally known just as thoroughly by the latter. Knowledge thus becomes what sociological methodology has always wished to avoid: a risk'.[14]

While my communication with Mochtar ceased for a long period, the process of writing the dissertation continued in the isolation of Melbourne. It was an eerie irony that while I had no contact with Mochtar Lubis in Jakarta for several years, my constant struggle to come to terms with, to record in the biography, my 'textual Mochtar Lubis' continued to cause me angst and melancholy. While Mochtar

Lubis may have been annoyed by elements in my analysis, I had come to realise that he had been a powerful influence upon me, shaping the way I pursued by task as biographer and the way in which I viewed Indonesia. Almost independent of my acknowledging his influence upon me and despite the contrary sway from former political prisoners, student and NGO activists and others, Mochtar had become a significant medium through which I interpreted his society. I felt a continuous tension as I strove to write a biography which would describe the man as others saw him, yet be accepted by him as 'balanced', 'fair' and 'just'. It was an inner conflict to which Mochtar Lubis himself was, quite understandably, oblivious.

In February 1987, I wrote to him again requesting permission for *Inside Indonesia* magazine to publish my translations of poems he wrote in Jakarta's Nirbaya prison in 1975. He graciously consented, suggesting minor alterations to the drafts. I felt relieved that he was prepared to respond, and I later sent him a copy of the published poems, plus a copy of an article I had written about *Indonesia Raya*. This reopening of correspondence emboldened me to send him a copy of a draft thesis chapter on his early life, to request comments and corrections. In my covering letter, I wrote in Indonesian:

> Mochtar, would you be prepared to make comments and corrections? I really want to get feedback from you, if you have the time and interest to respond. There are several sections and details which may not be precisely correct. I know that there will always be the possibility that, in matters of interpretation, we will not be of the same opinion. I think this is natural (even unavoidable) in the process of writing a biography. But I do want, with regard to historical facts concerning your childhood which I am including in this chapter, the information to be as accurate as possible.
>
> (3 June 1988)

Twelve days later, in a shaky, hurried script he replied in English:

> 'Dear David,
> As I am about to leave Jakarta soon, I quickly went through your manuscript and jotted down some additional info you asked.
> With best wishes',

signed in the now familiar hand, 'Mochtar Lubis'. He appended an extremely helpful list of clarifications, corrections and additional detail.

I completed my doctoral thesis in 1988, six years after completing my fieldwork in Indonesia. In it, I did not attempt to write comprehensively about Mochtar Lubis. Nor did I seek to write a deeply personal psychological biography, choosing to concentrate primarily upon his role as a newspaper editor and journalist, as well as his prominence as an author and cultural figure. Consciously or otherwise, the information chosen undoubtedly reflected my values, perspectives and assumptions, if only at the level of the privileging of certain stories as

being well authenticated and valuable and the discounting of other information as unreliable or of little importance.

Any such text is a mediation between myself as the biographer/writer and the environments – physical, cultural, social, economic, intellectual and political – within which was produced. It is the product of the physical, temporal and economic constraints upon me during its writing, the cultural and political biases inherent in my view of the world, the social *milieux* in which I wrote and the ideas to which I was exposed before and during the period of its research and composition. What I endeavoured to do was present a detailed, reasoned and thoughtful view of Mochtar Lubis within the context of his society, having due regard to his achievements, but not shrinking from the responsibility of criticism. Subconsciously, I no doubt wanted Mochtar's approval.

Planning a trip to Indonesia at the end of 1989, in advance, I mailed a copy of the thesis to him, writing in Indonesian:

> I think it is likely that there will be many interpretations in this dissertation with which you will not agree, but as I wrote in the preface, I really hope that you can accept this thesis as a 'sincere' attempt to understand and explain one culture in the language of another culture.
>
> I greatly value the help which you have given to me since the commencement of this Ph.D. process. The period of research and writing has really been long – it's taken nine years. Not everything that I have produced in this document is one hundred percent satisfactory for me, but, well, perhaps that indicates the limits of my ability. […]
>
> If you had the time and interest to respond to the dissertation, I very much want to read it of course. […]
>
> Respectful greetings'
>
> (7 October 1989)

In December 1989, I made an unsuccessful attempt to contact Mochtar while I was passing through Jakarta. It was my first return to Indonesia since completing my fieldwork seven years earlier and I had decided to spend a couple of weeks in Sumatra, tracing some of the paths of Mochtar's childhood. Though the thesis was finished, the desire to come to terms somehow with this unequal relationship with Mochtar, this bizarre role of the biographer as detective/researcher, continued as if it was impossible to disengage. Consequently, I spent about three weeks travelling to places of significance in Mochtar's early life, trying to get a sense of those times and those values.

Most satisfying were discoveries in the still relatively isolated provincial town of Sungai Penuh, Kerinci, in which Mochtar grew up. The final 60 kilometres of the journey, from Tapan to Sungai Penuh, took more than four hours by tray-back truck twisting along a mountainous jungle road, frequently interspersed by creaking timber bridges pock-marked by holes, through which rivers were visible deep in the chasms below. The previous year, we were told by local passengers, two people had been taken by a tiger when their motorbike stalled on the road.

At Sungai Penuh, piecing together scraps of information from Mochtar's short stories and our interviews years previously but still fixed in my mind, I managed to track down the site of the Lubis family home (now replaced by the Hotel Matahari), overlooking the local prison, so graphically depicted in his best-known short story 'Kuli Kontrak' (Contract Coolies) and his published autobiographical jottings.[15] There serendipitously I meet and interviewed an ageing former classmate of Mochtar's in the local HIS (Dutch-Native School) who told tales of the Lubis family, and of the patriarch particularly, still fondly remembered by the older folk of the district (including the proprietress of the local food-stall at which I ate!).

Several days later, I visited the site of the Economic High School, at Kayutanam, founded by the nationalist educationalist S.M. Latif, a crucial mentor to young Mochtar who studied there from 1935–39. The school had been razed in the 'scorched earth' policy of the 1945–49 struggle for Independence, but the nearby rival college, the famous INS (Indonesian National School), remains. There senior staff, including one who had been a student at the Economic High School during the preindependence period, told me much about the schools, the town and the period of Mochtar's residence there.

The most tentative and acutely difficult encounter during this trip occurred when I stopped briefly in the Lubis clan's home village of Muara Soro. Mochtar, the son of a peripatetic colonial administrator, had never lived in the clan's district, but his father had returned to the village on retirement, designing and building a stately home, still occupied by one of Mochtar's sisters, Asniah. Getting directions and locating the small settlement was difficult. Once there, I paused, wavering outside the house, set back up a long drive-way on the side of a hill. How reasonable was it for me to barge in on one of Mochtar's siblings, to invade the privacy of the family's home? It was one thing to impose upon the generosity of Mochtar himself; he had, after all, initially consented to my research at its outset. Wasn't it another matter, however, to appear unannounced, uninvited, at his sister's home in this tiny settlement? Under such circumstances, could she realistically decline to invite me in, to respond to my presence, my questions?

Perhaps my reservations could be interpreted as an indication of the nature and degree of my objectification of Mochtar Lubis. I had convinced myself of the legitimacy of biographical research about this man, and in this process produced an 'objectified individual', a 'textual Mochtar Lubis', but I had not done this to his family – neither his wife, his children, nor his siblings. It was as if my claim to privileged access to them was based on an unproven premise: that they could choose freely whether or not to cooperate and assist me.

As I stood at the gate, I was caught between wanting to withdraw for fear of embarrassing myself and the sister, and a tremendous curiosity about this particular piece in the jigsaw of Mochtar's life. Tipping the scales in favour of striding up the path was the realisation that in such a small community, news of my presence would surely come to the sister's attention. It seemed equally unfair to make it known publicly that I was seeking the home of the Lubis family, and then to disappear without making known to her the purpose of my inquiries. It may be

inappropriate to pry, but it seemed only fair to be honest rather than secretive. I entered the yard and made myself known to Mochtar's sister, who was obviously surprised as she came in from tending the flower garden. As she welcomed me politely, I explained briefly my connection with her brother and my interest in the ancestral home. We spoke about some of the family photographs adorning the walls, then soon I excused myself. I left frustrated. There was much I wanted to ask, but I felt it inappropriate to impose further.

Reciprocity

To my delight, Mochtar was regaled by the stories of my trip when I finally visited him on my return to Jakarta in January 1990. Our first meeting at his house since the Obor conversation in March 1982, the early minutes were rather forced, but once I brought out the photos of my Sumatra trip, we loosened up and the conversation flowed freely. He called Hally over, his eagerness to see the photos and hear my stories evident. He confessed he had not been back to Sungai Penuh for 20 or 30 years and was keen to hear what it was now like. He was amazed that the old jail was still in service and threw back his head with a hearty laugh at the sight of an old surviving *jambu* tree planted by his father in their back yard more than half a century ago. He remembered the school friend I met there well, and mentioned how the man's father had been the inspiration for the central character in an early short story, 'The Lotteries of Haji Zakaria' (which I had incidentally translated as an undergraduate class exercise).[16] The shots of the prison, old surrounds, the overgrowth in the yard of the former home at Sungai Penuh, all brought back a cascade of reminiscences and family tales, sweeping grins and full-throated chuckles. I willingly gave him copies of the photos which captured his interest.

I had also located and brought old black-and-white prints of Mochtar from the files of the Indonesian Press Photo Service, IPPHOS, which provided most press photos in the 1950s. Here was a fresh-faced lanky Mochtar, aged 24, head and shoulders above a delegation of journalists outside the town hall; a decade later on trial, with sombre defence counsel; grinning with famous friends and wives returning from overseas. The rediscovery of these snapshots of his past seemed to bring a genuine pleasure to him, as he and Hally strove to put names to the many faces as if they were sharing a long-unthumbed family album. These were the symbols of the public Mochtar, the published images of the journalist who was himself front page news.[17] As we chatted I felt the now-familiar sense of privilege once again, but this time, for perhaps the first in our relationship, I had a feeling of being able to return something, to discover something not *about* Mochtar, but *for* him.

Had my visit to these sites of his childhood meant anything to him and for our relationship? I suspect it may have triggered something significant, for the following year he took Hally, two of their children, together with spouses and grandchildren, on a family expedition to see the places I had photographed for him months earlier. It was his adult children's first trip to Sungai Penuh.

During the course of the January 1990 afternoon discussing the photographs, I mentioned the thesis several times. On no occasion was Mochtar drawn to respond. It was as if he had decided to ignore it, to avoid making any displeasure explicit. Had he, I pondered, divorced, on the one hand, the 'biographer' whom he felt had produced an unfavourable representation of him (as the 'textual Mochtar Lubis') from, on the other, the young admirer who persisted in dropping in, who continued to pry into his past? Had he too engaged in a reciprocal 'objectification' of me to separate biography from biographer?

As a guest of the Committee for Economic Development of Australia (CEDA) in March 1990, Mochtar made a lecture tour of Australia, spending several days in Perth with Hally, which gave me the opportunity of showing them around. In my next letter (18 April 1990) I wrote in Indonesian: 'Indeed, all of us in Perth felt very grateful that you and Hally were prepared to come. […] For me personally, it was a great joy'. In a letter which crossed its path, Mochtar wrote (19 April 1990): 'many thanks for your warm hospitality.[…] Halimah joins me in sending … you our best wishes and hope that 1990 will bring many happy things to you'.

In July the following year, to my surprise I received an invitation from a committee of senior journalist colleagues of Mochtar's, to contribute to a planned volume commemorating his seventieth birthday.[18] What a curious meeting it was when prospective contributors gathered over lunch with Mochtar himself, at the Dr Soetomo Press Institute in late 1991 to discuss their intended contributions to the volume and another similar one for Rosihan Anwar, the former editor of *Pedoman* daily. Among those gathered were Mochtar's arch-rival and one-time boss, B.M. Diah, former editor of *Merdeka* daily, together with Ramadhan KH, coauthor of the authorised 'autobiography' of President Suharto[19] and Soebagijo I.N. whose many publications include several biographies of Indonesian journalists.[20] I stood out as by far the youngest and the only foreigner. Surrounded by such bonhomie and camaraderie, as most vied to recount tall tales of their shared pasts, I could not help wondering what was the place for the critical biographer in their midst. It was as if the role of the renegade biographer was ultimately legitimised by inclusion within the same covers as loyal protegés, former colleagues and old friends.

The commemorative project brought my dilemma into sharp relief, for its obvious purpose was to eulogise rather than critique. The invitation to participate as a great honour, and one I did not take lightly. I opted to submit a chapter on Mochtar's novels,[21] rather than, as requested, on the more controversial topic of his life and work as a journalist and author after 1966. The publication may possibly symbolise a healing in my relationship with Mochtar and yet neither of us referred subsequently to my contribution to the volume, just as neither of us talked about any aspect of the blighted biographer-'object individual' relationship.

On several occasions I revisited the possibility of publishing the thesis in Indonesian translation. On each, in that wonderful untraceable manner that news circulated amongst the Jakarta political elite, it became clear that Mochtar would resist such publication. One prospective publisher approached him to gauge his attitude to the text and withdrew when it became clear he would not

favour publication. I suggested to him, albeit in passing conversation during an informal visit, that I would happily consider any specific revisions he would like to flag. He resisted specifying any passages and seemed uncomfortable at any implications that he might try to scuttle publication. Rumours persisted nonetheless, with a second publisher also withdrawing lest legal action ensue. I moved on to other projects. The thesis was ever published.

Continuity

For the remaining years of Mochtar's life, the story of our relationship remained open-ended, like an estranged couple doggedly bound by their alchemy and the thesis as progeny. I continued to research and write on the Indonesian media, and on occasion when I was in Jakarta, I would ring. Usually, I would find him out of town, but occasionally, I would drop in. In February 1995, I brought him a copy of a recently published book on the Indonesian press, and we chatted around a table in his front yard about his activities at Obor and with the Press Foundation of Asia, and of the novel he was writing about corruption in the New Order. As if signalling that he appreciated something of the dilemma I had faced as a biographer, he volunteered that he had recently been invited to the East-West Center in Hawai'i to attend a conference on biography. Responding to my obvious curiosity, he explained that in his paper he argued that the Javanese cannot write biography, only hagiography, because they are too afraid to broach the negative aspects of a person's life. A good biography, he said, must cover the good and the bad. I did not probe him further, but was pleased to interpret this as an endorsement, albeit an indirect one, of my attempts to bring a critical balance to my thesis eight years earlier.

More than five years later, we were again sitting in his front yard, both of us with our spouses, as I again handed him a copy of a new book on Indonesian media, culture and politics. I suspect all of us around the table were painfully aware of the changes those two decades had brought to our relationship. As always, Mochtar was cheery and light-hearted, but his tall frame was tending to stoop and increasingly his eyes would betray a confusion as he would lose the thread of the conversation. Hally would coax him lovingly back, with gentle reminders and a nervous laugh. Then he would fire up again and regale us all with a passionate retelling of some incident from the past until he would loose track of who I was and have to be reminded by Hally of their visit to Perth. Mutual friends shared stories of his increasing frailness of memory. Gradually Alzheimers began to dominate his days.

After Hally's death in August 2001 he was protected by family and full-time nursing staff from intrusive visits. From then on I spoke only to the nurse at the gate, or on the phone, asking for news, and asking limply to have my best wishes passed on, knowing he would have no memory of me. I would become troubled as mutual friends described Mochtar's loss of memory, even of his wife's death, and how he had to endure again and again, the sorrow of her passing with

each reminder. I was saddened to hear news of his death, but less saddened than I had been to know of his distress in the closing years of his life. I was not in Jakarta when he died and did not have a chance to attend his coffin, or farewell him at the cemetery, though I did feel drawn by a strange need to visit his grave in the closing stages of the writing of this book. Later, I felt pleased too to have been able to assist in the rediscovery and subsequent publication of his 1975 Nirbaya Prison memoirs.

When asked by Atmakusumah, the former managing editor of *Indonesia Raya*, and close family friend, to come along to the forty-day memorial ceremony at the Lubis home in Bonang Street, I went with some hesitation. I was uncomfortable about imposing upon a family grieving, but honoured to be there, and to meet again many of those who I had interviewed decades before about Mochtar. The book you hold in your hands exists largely because of conversations that night, as I was introduced by Atmakusumah as Mochtar's biographer, and as some guests I had previously interviewed asked why no book had appeared. This is a reworking and a rethinking of materials collected – and distilled – over most of my adult life.

And so, nearly thirty years after initially writing to Mochtar Lubis to ask his permission to insinuate myself into his life, I now conclude this retelling of his tale. Through the course of writing it, I have changed much more than did Mochtar, in no small way under his influence. I have become a father. I have grown from youth to late middle age, from student to academic. Do I understand him now more than I did when I wrote the original thesis? Yes. Would we still disagree over our interpretations? Undoubtedly.

In my moments of reflection upon having embarked on a study of a contemporary, I recall Walter's warning for the aspirant biographer and wish I had read it before commencing:

> If your biography is a good biography, encompassing intimate details and both the virtues and the weaknesses of your subject, it will almost certainly embarrass and offend the subject, family, friends, and acquaintances. If it takes seriously the task of probing the 'ego defences' (or what Edel calls the 'life-myth') of your subject, then you can be sure your subject will not recognize your interpretations, and will publicly proclaim its inaccuracy. If, however, she/he is introspective, it may cause more serious hurt [… If] you *have* managed to come to terms with larger questions – questions whose transcendent importance you took to justify encroaching on a contemporary life in the first place – then that will be recognized, and you will have advanced the cause of knowledge and understanding'.[22]

Responding to the enormous demands that foreign scholars (such as myself) place upon him, Mochtar once wrote to me '[it] does not matter to me whether they write a thesis which I like or not, as long as it is the truth' (21 February 1991). Herein lies the crux, the different and potentially conflicting perspectives brought to the

Mochtar Lubis exuded his usual charm during his visit to Murdoch University in March 1990. (Photo: David T. Hill)

project by biographer and 'object-individual'. The former seeks to interpret and 'objectify' the life of another; the latter desires that his/her 'truth' be articulated. In retrospect, during the long (collaborative or contested?) process of writing our biography it has rarely been the 'truth' which was in dispute; sadly but predictably, it has been the 'interpretations' which became contentious as I endeavoured to traverse my stormy course through epistemological doubt.

Notes

1 Introduction

1 A recent academic study of Mochtar Lubis's thoughts on politics and the state is Mansyur Semma (2008) *Negara dan Korupsi: Pemikiran Mochtar Lubis atas Negara, Manusia Indonesia, dan Perilaku Politik*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.

2 E.g. http://hadinur.wordpress.com/2007/08/22/sifat-sifat-manusia-indonesia/ and http://imanbrotoseno.blogspot.com/2007/09/manusia-indonesia-bulan-ramadhan-sudah.html, sighted 23 October 2007; and Jonathan Woodier (2006) 'Perning in the Gyre: Indonesia, the globalised media and the "war on terror" ' (pp. 41–60) in Benjamin Cole (ed.) *Conflict, Terrorism and the Media in Asia*, Routledge, London & New York, 2006, particularly p. 47.

3 Mochtar Lubis (1980) *Manusia Indonesia (Sebuah Pertanggungjawaban)* [Indonesian Humanity: A Statement of Responsibility], Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta, (4th ed. to which all subsequent page references refer. 1st ed. 1977). It was translated by Florence Lamoureux initially as *We Indonesians* (edited by Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii, 1979), and revised as *The Indonesian Dilemma* (Graham Brash, Singapore, 1983). For a more comprehensive discussion of the lecture, see David T. Hill (1993) 'Interpreting the Indonesian National Character: Mochtar Lubis and *Manusia Indonesia*' in D.M. Roskies (ed.) *Text/Politics in Island Southeast Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 19, Athens, Ohio, 1993, pp. 288–321.

4 p. 54. Original in English.

5 p. 55. Translation adapted from Lamoureux 1983: 48.

6 Most of the written responses were based upon the *Kompas* summary (12 April 1977). There was widespread informal discussion of the lecture (according to 'Gebrakan Mochtar Lubis – borok-borok Manusia Indonesia', *Horison*, August 1977, No. 8, pp. 240–42) but my comments are based on the published material.

7 In using Mochtar Lubis's 'first' name, I follow common practice in Indonesian, where he was most frequently referred to either as 'Pak Mochtar' [Father/Mr Mochtar], 'Bung Mochtar' [Brother Mochtar], or simply 'Mochtar'. This usage implies neither disrespect nor excessive familiarity.

8 Margono Djojohadikusumo, 'Feodalisme, New-Feodalisme[sic], Aristokrasi', in *Manusia Indonesia* 1980: 97–105.

9 Abu Hanifah, 'Renungan Tentang 'Manusia Indonesia Masa Kini", in *Manusia Indonesia* 1980: 117–30; quotations from pp. 124 & 127). Abu Hanifah (1906–80) was a member of the youth movement which drew up the 1928 Youth Pledge [*Sumpah Pemuda*], a member of the Masyumi Party, the first Minister for Education and Culture and an author, using the pseudonym 'El Hakim'. See *Tempo* 1981: 196–97.

10 Sarlito Wirawan Sarwono, 'Kondisi dan Situasi Manusia Indonesia Masa Kini, Dilihat Dari Sudut Psikologi' in *Manusia Indonesia* 1980: 82–91; quotation from pp. 89–90.
11 Wildan Yatim, 'Menata Mendasar Kembali' in *Manusia Indonesia* 1980: 108–16, quotations from pp. 108 & 116.
12 E.g. Syed Hussein Alatas, (1977) *The Myth of the Lazy Native*, Frank Cass, London; and Edward W. Said (1978) *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York.
13 Said 1978: 300–301.
14 Said 1978: 322–25.
15 Simon Philpott (2003) 'The natural order of things? From "Lazy Natives" to political science', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 249–63; quotation p. 254.
16 This line of argument is extended in Mochtar Lubis's *Transformasi Budaya untuk Masa Depan* (1985) lecture.
17 The most detailed study of Sjahrir is Rudolf Mrázek (1994) *Sjahrir: Politics and Exile in Indonesia*, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Cornell.
18 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981.
19 See Herbert Feith's Introduction to Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (eds) (1970) *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945–1965*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, particularly p. 13). The streams were Radical Nationalism, Javanese Traditionalism, Islam, Democratic Socialism and Communism.
20 Feith and Castles (eds) 1970: 227 discusses the appropriateness to these labels.
21 Feith and Castles 1970: 227. Despite the imprecision of the concept of 'the West', it is used in a functional way to refer to the USA, Western Europe, Britain and Australia, and the broad common social, cultural and political practices they share.
22 In a 1972 interview, Mochtar Lubis stated that his closest friends in the 1950s were Sutan Sjahrir, the most prominent intellectual in the democratic socialist group, and Adam Malik, a sympathiser of the radical nationalist Murba Party (Henri Chambert-Loir [1974] *Mochtar Lubis: Une Vision de l'Indonesie Contemporaine*, Publication de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Paris, p. 38, note 30). Mochtar later acknowledged he was drawn to Sutan Sjahrir and moved on the fringes of Sjahrir's group, but 'preserved his independence' (J.D. Legge (1988) *Intellectuals and Nationalism in Indonesia: A Study of the Following recruited by Sutan Sjahrir in Occupation Jakarta*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, p. 141).
23 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
24 Sutan Sjahrir (1969) *Out of Exile* (translated and introduced by Charles Wolf Jr.), Greenwood Press, New York, (1st ed. 1949) (originally published as *Indonesische Overpeinzingen*), and *Our Struggle* (translated with an introduction by Benedict R. O'G. Anderson), Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1968 (originally published as *Perjuangan Kita*, circa 1945). Works by protégés include *Sosialisme, Indonesia, Pembangunan: Kumpulan tulisan Sutan Sjahrir*, Lembaga Penunjang Pembangunan Nasional (LEPPENAS), Jakarta, 1982; and Rosihan Anwar (ed.) (1980) *Mengenang Sjahrir*, Gramedia, Jakarta.
25 For example, Arnold C. Brackman, the United Press Bureau chief in Jakarta in 1948–50 who returned a year later for five more years, became a 'close friend' of Sjahrir, dedicating his book *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia* to him. [Brackman (1980) 'Sjahrir pejuang kemerdekaan tanah airnya' (pp. 293–99) in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.]
26 George McT. Kahin, in his preface to Sjahrir 1968, p.iii.
27 Herb Feith (1986) 'John Legge and Cornell', (pp. 83–95) in David P. Chandler and M.C. Ricklefs (eds) (1986) *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Indonesia: Essays in Honour of Professor J.D. Legge*, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Clayton. Quotation from p. 87. The UN mission included a strong pro-Sjahrir contingent: Soedjatmoko, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo and Charles Tambu, a Ceylonese who took over the editorship of the Jakarta English-language paper *Times of Indonesia* after Mochtar Lubis's departure in June 1953.

28 Herbert Feith (1982) 'The Study of Indonesian Politics: A Survey and an Apologia' (pp. 41–53) in Benedict Anderson and Audrey Kahin (eds) (1982) *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca (quotation from p. 44). The Masyumi leader Mohamad Roem wrote: 'Kahin was considered as having many contacts with PSI people, especially Sjahrir, and Sjahrir's stance can be considered as being in line with what has been expressed by Kahin.'['Bung kecil yang berbuat besar' (pp. 139–65), in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980 (quotation from p. 156).]
29 Feith 1982: 44.
30 Feith 1986: 87 describes the particular role of Soedjatmoko's house as 'a place of pilgrimage for Western academics'.
31 Benedict O'Gorman Anderson (1982) 'Perspective and Method in American Research on Indonesia' (pp. 69–83) in Anderson and Kahin (eds) 1982 (quotation from p. 73).
32 Anderson 1982: 73.
33 Anderson 1982: 70. Anderson used the term 'American research' to refer to 'scholarly writing published in America by Americans or non-Americans' (1982: 69).
34 Rex Mortimer (1973) 'From Ball to Arndt: The Liberal Impasse in Australian Scholarship on Southeast Asia' (pp. 101–30) in Rex Mortimer (ed.) (1973) *Showcase State: The Illusion of Indonesia's 'Accelerated Modernisation'*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney (quotation from p. 114). His PKI study was *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1974.
35 Published initially as 'The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre', (*Ramparts*, No. 9, 1970), the material was expanded and revised as 'Ford Country: Building an Elite for Indonesia' (pp. 93–116) in Steve Weissman (ed.) (1974) *The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid*, Ramparts Press, San Francisco.
36 Ransom 1974: 96 & 114. For Ford's response, see 'Rumors, Plots, and Conspiracies: The *Ramparts* article' (p. 126), in Goenawan Mohamad (2003) *Celebrating Indonesia: Fifty Years with the Ford Foundation 1953–2003* Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, downloaded from www.fordfound.org/publications/recent_articles/docs/celebrating_indonesia/03_english.pdf, sighted 6 December 2006.
37 'Modernizing Indonesian Politics' (pp. 177–206) in R. William Liddle (ed.) (1973) *Political Participation in Modern Indonesia*, Yale University Southeast Asia Series, New Haven (quotation from p. 178).
38 Liddle 1973: 178.
39 Edward Aspinall (2005) *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, p. 8.
40 One exception may be former talk-show compère (and presidential spokesperson under Abdurrahman Wahid), Wimar Witoelar, who produced and anchored the controversial TV and radio interview program *Perspektif [Perspective]* in the early 1990s.
41 Odd Arne Westad (2007) *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 89.
42 John Lent's review of David J. Banks (1987) *From Class to Culture: Social Conscience in Malay Novels Since Independence*, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, New Haven, published in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 61, No. 4, Winter 1988–89, p. 712.
43 Mochtar permitted me to photocopy his manuscript in the early 1980s. His original was lost, but after his death I was able to provide a copy for subsequent publication as *Nirbaya: Catatan Harian Mochtar Lubis dalam Penjara Orde Baru*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2008.
44 When former managing editor of *Indonesia Raya*, Atmakusumah, collected and published several hundred editorials from the paper in several separate volumes, Mochtar Lubis was acknowledged as author.

45 In drawing upon interview material I am mindful, as Roberts has warned, that 'individuals in using "the past" are also constructing it and memories are subject to the vagaries of recollection – loss, distortion, and fiction'. Brian Roberts (2002) *Biographical Research*, Open University Press, Buckingham & Philadelphia, p. 141.

2 Bureaucrat's son to nationalist intellectual

1 Biographical details are based on various interviews with Mochtar Lubis (particularly 24 September 1981) and with various members of the Lubis family (in July and August 2006), and on Henri Chambert-Loir (1974) *Mochtar Lubis: Une Vision de l'Indonésie Contemporaine*, Publication de l'Ecole Française D'Extrême-Orient, Paris, pp. 16–17, and a form, *Riwayat Hidup* [Biography] completed by Mochtar Lubis and held in H. Usmar Ismail Film Centre (*Sinematek*), Jakarta in File 'M-105', dated 9 September 1979. Mochtar describes his early childhood in 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, pp. 11–23, especially p. 12. Various sources using differing spellings of his father's name, but this spelling is found on Mochtar Lubis's gravestone.
2 Observations of Muara Soro based on a visit in December 1989, and information provided by Drs Zulkifli Lubis, email, 8 June 2006.
3 A useful introduction to the Mandailing communities can be found at http://www.mandailing.org/, sighted 2 June 2006.
4 On the Mandailing in Malaysia, see Joel S. Kahn (2006), *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World*, Singapore University Press, Singapore, pp. 65–66 and Abdur-Razzaq Lubis and Khoo Salma Nasution (2003) *Raja Bilah and the Mandailings in Perak: 1875–1911*, Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (MBRAS) Monograph No. 35, [Penang].
5 Following tradition, the family council bestowed upon Mochtar the sonorous Mandailing aristocratic title (*gelar*) of 'Sutan', *in absentia* during the wedding ceremony of his youngest brother Firman in Muara Soro around 1973, though he never used it (correspondence with Mochtar Lubis, 15 June 1988). According to Mandailing custom (*adat*), the title 'Sutan' was conferred upon the nephew of the local ruling chief, upon his marriage. (My thanks to Abdur-Razzaq Lubis for this clarification, email communication, 8 June 2006.) Several written sources (including Taufiq Ismail, 'Mochtar Lubis, Kuli Kontrak dan Penerbang Piper Cub', *Horison*, XXXVIII, No. 8, August 2004, pp. 4–7) state that Mochtar was also given the title 'Raja Pandapotan Sibarani Sojuangan' (meaning roughly 'wealthy king who is brave in the struggle'). However, this was denied by family members (including in interviews with Mochtar's son Arman Lubis, 1 August 2006 and Mochtar's brother-in-law, LS Diapari, 3 August 2006) who pointed out that, traditionally, if a father was 'Raja Pandapotan', his son could be 'Sutan' but not 'Raja Pandapotan' since this title 'Raja Pandapotan' passed down to the grandson.
6 I would like to thank Abdur-Razzaq Lubis for explaining these aspects of Mandailing custom (various communications, June 2006).
7 The title *demang* was used after 1914 for a district chief in West Sumatra, 'theoretically chosen on the basis of ability rather than birth', according to Elizabeth E. Graves (1981) *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*, Cornell University, New York, p. 145.
8 The party policy was to form offshoots called People's Associations (*Sarekat Rakyat*), nominally independent of the PKI but later centralised [B. Schrieke (1960) *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, Part One, 2nd edn., Sumur Bandung, Bandung, p. 86]. Schrieke's 1928 essay, 'The Development of the Communist Movement on the West Coast of Sumatra' (pp. 84–166), provides valuable contemporary Dutch perceptions of the Communists. Ruth T. McVey (1965) *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca (2nd printing 1968), p. 183, claims that by 1924 there

were *Sarekat Rakyat* branches in nine towns and a membership estimated by the government to number 1,000.

9 Schrieke 1960: 87–88, referring to the period around 1924–25.

10 See Anthony J. Reid (1974) *The Indonesian National Revolution 1945–1950*, Longman, Hawthorn, Victoria, p. 6.

11 McVey 1965: 311–13.

12 See J.S. Furnivall (1956) *Colonial Policy and Practice*, New York University Press, New York, p. 393 and Audrey R. Kahin (1996) 'The 1927 Communist Uprising in Sumatra: a Reappraisal', *Indonesia*, Vol. 62, October, pp. 19–36. For a discussion of the consequences of these rebellions on the nationalist movement see John Ingleson (1979) *Road to Exile: The Indonesian Nationalist Movement 1927–34*, ASAA-Heinemann, Singapore, pp. 24–29.

13 Schrieke 1960: 134.

14 Schrieke 1960: 99–126. Two papers in Lyn L. Thomas and Franz von Benda-Beckmann (eds) (1985) *Change and Continuity in Minangkabau: Local, Regional, and Historical Perspectives on West Sumatra*, Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Athens, analyse Schrieke's study. Akira Oki's 'Economic Constraints, Social Change, and the Communist Uprising in West Sumatra (1926–1927): A Critical Review of B.J.O. Schrieke's West Coast Report' (pp. 207–34) concludes with general support, while Joel Kahn's 'Commercialization and Change in Minangkabau: A Re-examination of the Historical Watershed' (pp. 279–301) questions Schrieke's assumptions regarding a link between commodity exchange and capitalist penetration or 'modernisation'.

15 Schrieke 1960: 121.

16 Schrieke 1960: 112.

17 Correspondence with Mochtar Lubis, 15 June 1988.

18 Graves 1981: 124.

19 Schrieke 1960: 181. This quotation is taken from the essay 'The Native Rulers' (pp. 169–221) initially published in 1928.

20 Recounted in Mauro R. Avena (1987) 'Interview: Mochtar Lubis: People's Voice', *Solidarity*, July–August, pp. 69–79. See p. 78. Also in 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, pp. 16–18, in which he gives his age as 'about ten'.

21 H. Mohammad Said (1977) *Koeli Kontrak Tempo Doeloe, Dengan Derita dan Kemarahannya*, Waspada, Medan, provides a detailed study of indentured labour in the Deli area of East Sumatra during this period.

22 'Menguak Realitas yang Timpang', *Fokus*, 28 July 1983, p. 10. There are parallels between the backgrounds and careers of Mochtar Lubis and Adam Malik, another Mandailing journalist, a founder of ANTARA News Agency and later Vice President of the Republic. Adam Malik calls the first chapter of his autobiography, *In the Service of the Republic*, Gunung Agung, Singapore, 1980, 'The Sufferings of the Coolies', and in it he describes how, despite his 'relatively affluent' background in a family of 'prosperous merchants', he was 'deeply affected when [he] observed how these coolies eked out a life of bare subsistence' (p. 4).

23 'Kuli Kontrak', originally in *Siasat Baru*, XIII, No. 650, 25 November 1959, pp. 28–30, and republished in *Kuli Kontrak*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1982.

24 Chambert-Loir 1974: 17. These 'Dutch-Native' primary schools were only established from 1914.

25 A primary education at HIS enabled a non-European student to continue to higher education, in the 'European' educational system. After seven years at HIS, pupils could continue to MULO [*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*, More Extended Lower Education, a lower secondary school], or to university entrance standard at the AMS [*Algemeene Middelbare School*, General Middle School]. See Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (1978) 'National Education in a Colonial Society' (pp. 277–306)

in Haryati Soebadio and Carine A. du Marchie Sarvaas (eds) (1978) *Dynamics of Indonesian History*, North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, particularly p. 277. For a detailed analysis of the place of the HIS within the colonial education system, and data on the social background of HIS students, see Paul W. van der Veur (1969) *Education and Social Change in Colonial Indonesia* (I), Ohio University Center for International Studies, Athens, Ohio.

26 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981. Mochtar could no longer recall the pen names he used.

27 Chambert-Loir 1974: 20 provides these recollections from Bachtar Lubis, Mochtar's second eldest brother.

28 See 'Kuli Kontrak' [Contract Coolies] in the collection of the same name (Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1982), p. 7.

29 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, p. 17.

30 Figures on cars and pilgrims from Schrieke 1960: 269 footnote 14. Mochtar Lubis recalled that the proportion of *hajis* (Muslims who have conducted the pilgrimage to Mecca) in the population was the highest in the country ('Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, p. 19).

31 M.D. Mansoer, Amrin Imran, Mardanas Safwan, Asmaniar Z. Idris and Sidi I. Buchari (1970) *Sejarah Minangkabau*, Bhratara, Jakarta, p. 189.

32 W.F. Wertheim (1956) *Indonesian Society in Transition*, Sumur Bandung, Bandung (2nd edn), p. 97 reproduces a 'Table of Class Divisions in seven districts of Sumatra's West Coast Residency', which lists 'officials, native chiefs, teachers of religion' as 1.91 per cent of the population. He cites *Rapport van de Commissie van onderzoek ingesteld bij Gouvernementbesluit van 13 Februari 1927, No. 1a* [Report of the inquiry committee established by governmental decree of 13/2/1927, No. 1a], Weltevreden, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 20–21 as his source.

33 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

34 Lies Said (1978) 'Wanita di belakang Mochtar Lubis', *Kartini*, 6–19 February, pp. 6–8 & 90–2 (quotation from p. 90).

35 Interview, 13 January 1981.

36 On the operations of the colonial justice system in Kerinci in the 1920s, see Djuhar Noor (1985) 'Perubahan Sosial di Kerinci pada awal Abad XX', unpublished thesis, Fakultas Pasca Sarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jogjakarta, August, pp. 129–32.

37 Mochtar Lubis recounted this tale in several interviews (including 11 March 1981). It appears in various published accounts of his childhood and is incorporated in his autobiographical short story 'Kuli Kontrak' in *Kuli Kontrak*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1982.

38 In 1981, Mochtar reflected that, once he became a father himself, he appreciated the wisdom of his father's child-raising strategies, although his own children chide him as 'old-fashioned' (interview, 11 March 1981).

39 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, p. 12.

40 Donald K. Emmerson (1976) *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca. Quotation from p. 134. Mochtar Lubis discussed his attitudes to his father in similar terms in an interview on 11 March 1981. Emmerson's study of the Jakarta elite, based on 40 sample leaders interviewed between 1966–67, showed these attitudes to parents as being dominant, particularly in the group he called the 'administrators', drawn from higher central administrative departments of the government.

41 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, p. 12.

42 Avena 1987: 78. When Raja Pandapotan Lubis retired as *demang* of Kerinci, he was succeeded by the father of Rosihan Anwar, who was to become the editor of the Jakarta daily paper *Pedoman*, and a life-long family friend, sharing many of Mochtar's personal and political views.

43 The village's isolation is indicated by the fact that it was only connected to the electricity grid on 23 November 1980. Villagers believe even this was only made possible by the then Vice-President Adam Malik, who originated from a village close by, Mochtar Lubis records in *Het Land Onder de Zon: Het Indonesie van nu* [The Land Under the Sun: Indonesia Now], A.W. Sijthoff, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1981, pp. 99–100.
44 For details on Amzar Lubis, see [Sritua Arief] [1976] *Who's Who in Indonesian Business*, Sritua Arief Associates [n.p.], 2nd edn, pp. 295–96. Also Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981. Chambert-Loir 1974: 262–63 provides a brief biography of Bachtar Lubis. The other children went to Dutch primary and secondary schools (correspondence with Mochtar Lubis, 15 June 1988).
45 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981.
46 For a description of this school, see Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo 1978: 283–86. For a discussion of the pedagogical methods and philosophy, see *Pendidikan Mohd. Sjafei INS Kayutanam* Saduran: Thalib Ibrahim, Pen. Mahabudi, Jakarta 1978 (based on the first edition Mohd. Sjafei, *Arah Aktif*, J.B. Wolters, Jakarta/Groningen, 1953).
47 For an overview of this pedagogical development and debates within the intellectual community, see Nidhi Aeusrivongse (1976) *Fiction as History: A Study of Pre-War Indonesian Novels and Novelists* (1920–42), PhD, University of Michigan, University Microfilm International, Ann Arbor, pp. 265–71.
48 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
49 This inspiration was particularly evident in the 1980 environmental tale for adolescents, *Berkelana dalam Rimba*, as well as in the 1975 novel *Harimau! Harimau!*.
50 Moehammad Saleh (1965) *Riwayat hidup dan perasaian saya*, edited by S.M. Latif, Dana Buku Moehammad Saleh, Bogor, p. 319. On S.M. Latif's background, see Chambert-Loir 1974: 20–21 & 262.
51 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra' [Freedom fighter, thinker and lover of literature] (pp. 199–214), in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980. Quotation p. 201. From 1937, Latif published a periodical, *Resensi* [Review], surveying recently obtained academic publications in Dutch, German, French and English. In 1969, the daily newspaper *Indonesia Raya* revived the name 'Resensi' for its book review column, edited for a time by Latif (Chambert-Loir 1974: 23). Mochtar discusses the importance of libraries – and particularly Latif's library with its extraordinary 30,000 titles – in his early development in 'Perpustakaan Keluarga Menumbuhkan Minat Baca Anak Sejak Dini' (pp. 493–502) in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta.
52 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981, supplemented by Chambert-Loir 1974: 23–24.
53 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
54 Chambert-Loir 1974: 25 gives the date of Mochtar Lubis's move to Batavia as July 1941. Mochtar told me the year was 1939, three years before the Japanese invasion. (Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981 and correspondence 15 June 1988). Djanamar Adjam was born in Bukittinggi in 1921 and was buried in Jakarta in 1985.
55 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
56 Reid 1974: 8 notes this as a feature of many Minangkabau political leaders in particular.
57 *Priyayi* were the traditional Javanese aristocracy.
58 We could also include here such people as Tan Malaka and Amir Sjarifuddin.
59 Personal correspondence with Joebaar Ajoeb, 25 November 1982. Emphasis in the original.
60 Chambert-Loir 1974: 25.
61 The firm was nationalised in 1957 and the building daubed with anti-Dutch slogans (see Goenawan Mohamad (2003) *Celebrating Indonesia: Fifty Years with the Ford Foundation 1953–2003* Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, photograph on p. 88, downloadable from http://www.fordfound.org/publications/recent_articles/docs/

celebrating_indonesia/02_english.pdf, sighted 7 December 2006). Since 1993 the building at 1 Jalan Lapangan Stasiun, Jakarta Kota, has housed the Mandiri Bank Museum, which includes a display of historical items and photos detailing the past use of the building.

62 John O. Sutter (1959) *Indonesianisasi: politics in a changing economy, 1940–1955*, Volume 1, *The Indonesian economy at the close of the Dutch period and under the Japanese*, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Data Paper, Ithaca, p. 87. The NHM's Indonesian operations were nationalised by the government in 1960 (as *Bank Ekspor Impor Indonesia*), but the international bank was a primary predecessor to today's ABN-AMRO financial corporation. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nederlandsche_Handel-Maatschappij, sighted 1 June 2006.

63 Interview with Mochtar Lubis in Kemala Atmojo (1993) 'Saya protes keras', *Matra*, 1993, pp. 14–23 (quotation from p. 22).

64 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

65 See 'Menguak Realitas yang Timpang', *Fokus*, 28 July 1983, p. 10.

66 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

67 Mochtar recollected later that his concern about 'German fascism' began in Sumatra, when he read critical 'Indonesia Muda' material sent from Java (interview, 13 January 1981).

68 Mochtar Lubis includes a similar incident in his first novel *Tidak Ada Esok* [There is No Tomorrow], Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta 1982 (1st ed. 1950), p. 45.

69 Accounts from interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981, and 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October 1969, p. 21.

70 Mochtar Lubis describes his experiences in 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra', p. 199 in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.

71 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981. On Bachtar Lubis, see M. Gani [1978] *Surat Kabar Indonesia pada Tiga Zaman*, Proyek Pusat Publikasi Pemerintah, Departemen Penerangan R.I., Jakarta, p. 121.

72 M. Gani [1978] *Surat Kabar Indonesia pada Tiga Zaman*, Proyek Pusat Publikasi Pemerintah, Departemen Penerangan R.I., Jakarta, p. 121; and 'Revolusi di Mata Rakyat: Antara yang Putih dan yang Merah', *Mutiara*, 3–17 August 1982, p. 4.

73 Mrázek 1994: 241.

74 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981 and 'Menguak Realitas yang Timpang', *Fokus*, 28 July 1983, p. 10. L.F. Jansen (1988), *In Deze Halve Gevangenis: Dagboek van mr. dr. L.F. Jansen, Batavia/Djakarta 1942–1945* (edited and annotated by G.R. Knaap) Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, Franeker, is reviewed by Paul W. Van Der Veur, in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Spring 1922), pp. 131–32. I would like to thank Dr Alfons van der Kraan for helping with a translation of excerpts of this diary.

75 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981. It would appear likely that the film in which Mochtar was involved was *Calling Australia* (made by the Japanese 16th Army propaganda service in 1943, directed by Korean Hinatsu Eitaro [aka Huh Young, 'Dr Huyung']). The making of that film – and a response by the Netherlands-Indies Film Production Unit in Melbourne in 1945 called *Nippon Presents* – is the focus of a documentary by Australian filmmaker Graham Shirley, *Prisoners of Propaganda* [Film Australia, 1987]. *Calling Australia* was never actually circulated in Australia. See Remco Raben, 'Camp Life through Rose-Coloured Glasses' (pp. 161–62), in Remco Raben (ed.) (1999), *Representing the Japanese Occupation of Indonesia*, Waanders Publishers, Zwolle. On Japanese propaganda, including film, during this period, see Aiko Kurasawa (1987) 'Propaganda media on Java under the Japanese 1942–45', *Indonesia*, Vol. 44, October, pp. 59–116.

76 Mrázek 1994: 245.

77 A. Latief (1980) *Pers di Indonesia di Zaman Pendudukan Jepang*, Karya Anda, Surabaya, p. 14. For a discussion of radio during this period, see Krishna Sen and

David T. Hill (2006) *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, pp. 81–82.

78 'Revolusi di Mata Rakyat', *Mutiara*, 3–17 August 1982, p. 4.

79 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

80 'Revolusi di Mata Rakyat', *Mutiara*, 3–17 August 1982, p. 4. Adam Malik 1980: 121 describes his role in the domestic dissemination of the text.

81 Ganis Harsono (1977) *Recollections of an Indonesian Diplomat in the Sukarno Era*, edited by C.L.M. Penders and B.B. Hering, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, pp. 169–70.

82 On the establishment of *Asia Raya* and Japanese propaganda media, see U.S. Department of Commerce (1968) *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Washington (3rd printing), pp. 252–57.

83 Details from her gravestone.

84 Ramadhan K.H. (1992) 'Kenangan dan Percakapan dengan Mochtar Lubis' (pp. 177–200) in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta.

85 Having been established in 1937, ANTARA was incorporated by the Japanese administration as the Indonesian section of the Japanese *Domei* news agency in 1942. With the Declaration of Independence, it re-emerged as a separate entity. Mochtar was urged to join ANTARA by Syakhruddin, an ANTARA journalist later killed in an explosion in Singapore during the Independence struggle,[Rosihan Anwar 1980: 200] and to whom (among others) Mochtar dedicated his novel *Maut dan Cinta* [Death and Love] (1977).

86 Avena 1987: 71.

87 As a product of this reading, he compiled a professional handbook, *Pers dan Wartawan: Teori dan Praktik dalam Jurnalistik* [Press and Journalists: Theory and Practice in Journalism], Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1952 (2nd edn) [1st edn 1949?].

88 For a biography of Asa Bafagih, see Soebagijo I.N. (1981) *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia*, Gunung Agung, Jakarta, pp. 361–65.

89 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

90 Adam Malik 1980: 15.

91 Chambert-Loir 1974: 28. For details of the conference, see Soebagijo I.N., Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo and P. Swantoro (eds) (1977) *Lintasan Sejarah P.W.I.*, P.W.I. Pusat and Deppen, Jakarta, pp. 13–18. The PWI became the primary professional association for Indonesian journalists and was held in very high esteem, until ideological tensions sharpened in the early 1960s and the authoritarian government of the New Order co-opted it after 1965. For a discussion of the PWI in the New Order, see David T. Hill (1994) *The Press in New Order Indonesia*, UWA Press, Perth, pp. 67–73.

92 The term is from Hildred Geertz (1963) 'Indonesian Cultures and Communities' (pp. 24–96) in Ruth T. McVey (ed.) (1963) *Indonesia*, HRAF Press, New Haven. See particularly pp. 34–38.

93 See Robert Cribb (1985) 'The Nationalist World of Occupied Jakarta, 1946–49' (pp. 91–107) in Susan Abeyasekere (ed.) (1985) *From Batavia to Jakarta: Indonesia's Capital 1930s to 1980s*, AILS-CSEAS Monash University, Clayton, particularly pp. 105–7. Cribb counted 'over a hundred and twenty periodicals of various kinds issued in Jakarta during the revolutionary years' (p. 106). Susan Abeyasekere (1987) *Jakarta: A History*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, pp. 147–61, describes the various phases of Jakarta's 1945–49 history.

94 So argues Cribb 1985: 106–7.

95 Mochtar describes the strategic interaction between local and foreign journalists during this period in his short story 'Hati Yang Hampa' (pp. 39–52) in *Bromocorah: Dua Belas*

Cerita Pendek, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1983, translated into English by Jeanette Lingard as *The Outlaw and Other Stories*, Oxford University Press, Singapore 1987.

96 Chambert-Loir 1974: 29. See Soebadio Sastrosatomo 'Sjahrir: Suatu Perspektif Manusia dan Sejarah', in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980, p. xxxiii for comments on Sjahrir's involvement in this conference. For other accounts of the conference, see delegation leader, Abu Hanifah's, *Tales of a Revolution*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1972, pp. 214–44, and Ali Sastroamijoyo (1979) *Milestones on My Journey: The Memoir of Ali Sastroamijoyo, Indonesian Patriot and Political Leader*, edited by C.L.M. Penders, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, pp. 134–37.

97 Siti Wahyunah Sutan Sjahrir (1992) 'Peran Singapura Pada Tahun-Tahun Pertama Kemerdekaan Republik Indonesia: Sekelumit Kenangan', p. 19, in Kustiniyati Mochtar (ed.) (1992) *Memoar Pejuang Republik Indonesia Seputar 'Zaman Singapura' 1945–1950*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 17–34.

98 'Pride of the East', *Time*, 7 April 1947, at http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,804091,00.html, sighted on 9 March 2006

99 Abu Hanifah 1972: 236–8 and Ali Sastroamijoyo 1979: 136–7. Gandhi speech is available at http://www.gandhiserve.org/information/listen_to_gandhi/lec_2_iarc/augven_IARC.html, sighted on 9 March 2006.

100 Mochtar Lubis described his relationship to this group in a 1980 interview with John Legge (cited in Legge 1988: 141).

101 Liddle 1973: 179.

102 Mochtar Lubis, 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra', p. 208, in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.

103 Mochtar Lubis, 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra', p. 200, in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.

104 *Perjuangan Kita* is translated as Sjahrir 1968. For Mochtar's comments, see 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra', p. 203, in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.

105 'Pejuang, pemikir dan peminat sastra', p. 201–2, in Rosihan Anwar (ed.) 1980.

106 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.

107 For details of the Madiun incident, see Kahin 1970: 256–303, particularly pp. 286–87.

108 According to an interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981.

109 Frances Gouda with Thijs Brocades Zaalberg (2002) *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia: US Foreign Policy and Indonesian Nationalism, 1920–1949*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, p. 278.

110 Suripno, 'Mengapa Kami Kalah' (Dengan Komentar dari Mochtar Lubis), *Mutiara*, I, No. 2, 15 May 1949, pp. 9–10 & No. 3, 1 June 1949, pp. 10–11.

111 Suripno, 'Mengapa Kami Kalah', *Mutiara*, 15 May 1949, p. 10.

112 Suripno, 'Mengapa Kami Kalah', *Mutiara*, 1 June 1949, p. 10. Gouda & Zaalberg (2002: 280) note that the 'sudden insurrection on the part of local communist leaders probably caught the PKI chief [Musso, who was on a speaking tour 22 miles from Madiun] and his encourage off guard.'

113 Zulkifli Lubis describes his secret intelligence activities in 'Mochtar Lubis Itu Transparan' (pp. 144–55) in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta.

114 Zulkifli Lubis (1992) 'Mochtar Lubis Itu Transparan' (pp. 144–55, especially p. 144) in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta.

115 Interviews with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981 and 24 September 1981. Later activities indicate that Mochtar was close to various military figures, a number of whom (such as Daan Jahja, the fourth Commander of the Siliwangi Division) were involved in the establishment of *Indonesia Raya*.

116 Mochtar Lubis did six weeks military training while working with the Japanese radio monitoring service, but he never took up arms in the Revolution (interview, 27 January 1981).
117 Paraphrased by Mochtar Lubis in interview, 13 January 1981.
118 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981 and Chambert-Loir 1974: 30. For details of the Dutch military action, see Reid 1974: 151.
119 His report was published as 'Kembali ke Yogya' [Return to Jogjakarta], *Mutiara*, I, No. 6, 1 August 1949, pp. 13–16 & 23.
120 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
121 The *Si Jamal* stories were published initially in magazines like *Siasat* and later collected as *Si Jamal dan Cerita-cerita Lain* [Jamal and other stories], 1st edn February 1950, Usaha Penerbitan Gapura, Jakarta. *Tidak Ada Esok* was published by Gapura, Jakarta, in 1950. Mochtar Lubis discussed this period in an interview, 13 January 1981.
122 Subagio Sastrowardojo (1971) *Bakat Alam dan Intelektualisme*, Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta, p. 64.
123 Chambert-Loir 1974: 29.

3 The 'press of political struggle'

1 Quoted on p. 187 of Atmakusumah (1980) 'Kasus *Indonesia Raya*' (pp. 181–245), in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.) (1980) *Beberapa Segi Perkembangan Sejarah Pers di Indonesia*, Deppen RI & LEKNAS-LIPI, Jakarta. A similar 'independent and impartial' stance was declared by the Jakarta English daily, *The Times of Indonesia*, which Mochtar Lubis founded as editor-in-chief on 5 May 1952 (relinquishing the post to Charles Tambu and withdrawing on 29 June 1953). See Chambert-Loir 1974: 35 and Edward C. Smith (1969) *A History of Newspaper Suppression in Indonesia, 1949–*1965, PhD, University of Iowa, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, pp. 143–44.
2 Mochtar Lubis mentioned the following military officers were involved in setting up the paper: 'Major Brentel Susilo of the Army, Military Governor Daan Jahja (acting Commander of the Siliwangi IV Division till the end of 1948), Basarudin Nasution (director of the Army Law School), acting Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Colonel Tahi Bonar Simatupang, Chief of Staff of the Army Colonel Abdul Harris Nasution, Army spokesperson Major Bachtar Lubis (Mochtar's brother), Lieutenant Colonel S. Parman (Staff officer of the Jakarta military governor) and Lieutenant Colonel Sutojo Siswomihardjo (commander of the Fifth Military Police Battalion) … . Aid was also given by Sjahsam, Sutan Sjahrir's younger brother'. (Atmakusumah 1980: 185).
3 Confidential interview with one of the officers involved, 1981, and Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
4 Interview with H.J.C. Princen, 1 September 1982, who was close to both men.
5 On Brani and *Berita Indonesia*, see Zulkifli Lubis (1992) 'Mochtar Lubis Itu Transparan' (pp. 144–55, especially p. 149) in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta. *Brani* was short for 'Badan Rahasia Negara Indonesia' [Indonesian National Intelligence Office].
6 George Mc.T. Kahin (1995) 'Some Recollections and Reflections on the Indonesian Revolution', *Indonesia*, Vol. 60, October, pp. 1–16, quotation from p. 11. From May 1947 Brentel Susilo was apparently head of the economics section of the Ministry of Defence's *Jawatan 5* [Office 5], established to unite various military-connected intelligence bodies. When this office was dissolved with the military reorganisations in mid-1948, he became chief of staff in charge of economic intelligence in *Bagian C3* [army intelligence] (details from personal correspondence with Dr Ruth McVey, 11 June 1988).
7 Information from interviews with H.J.C. Princen (1 September 1982), a former intelligence officer (14 October 1981), and Dr Azis Saleh (13 September 1982).

Mochtar Lubis and Brentel Susilo had contradictory accounts of the origin of the name 'Indonesia Raya'. Mochtar claimed that the name was taken from the Indonesian national anthem, as suggested by a neighbour of his, Teuku Sjahril, who was then working as an assistant on *Mutiara*, during a planning meeting for the newspaper held at Mochtar's house (see Atmakusumah 1980: 189). Brentel Susilo asserted that he himself named the paper after the Glorious Indonesia Party (*Partai Indonesia Raya*, *Parindra*), of which his uncle Raden Sutomo had been a founder. (Interview with Brentel Susilo, 14 October 1981. Chambert-Loir 1974: 63 accepts this version.) There appears to be no link between this paper and an identically named tabloid magazine published in Jogjakarta (1947–48) by the Muslim Masyumi party, edited by Zainal Abidin Ahmad (see Soebagijo I.N. 1981: 479–80).

8 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.

9 Chambert-Loir 1974: 63. This description of the sequence of events varies somewhat from that given in Chambert-Loir 1974: 63, who claims that Julli Effendi and Hiswara Darmaputra lead the paper with the latter holding the position of chief editor. Hiswara left in 1951 to join *Merdeka*, and by October 1951 Julli Effendi had been replaced by Hasjim Mahdan, with Mochtar Lubis having been listed as officially joining the paper in August 1950 when he resigned from ANTARA. See also Atmakusumah 1980: 185.

10 After the split and closure of *Indonesia Raya* in 1959 the major figures involved in the paper lost contact with Sarhindi, whom I was unable to trace.

11 Atmakusumah 1980: 186.

12 Atmakusumah 1980: 185.

13 Confidential interview with intelligence officer, 1982.

14 While admitting shortfalls in income were covered by 'friends', Mochtar declined to specify benefactors, claiming some were still in, or close to, the government and may be subject to retaliation (Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981).

15 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981.

16 Harold Crouch (1978) *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, p. 28.

17 Mavis Rose (1987) *Indonesia Free: A Political Biography of Mohammad Hatta*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University, Ithaca, p. 175.

18 Herbert Feith (1962) *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, juxtaposes the characteristics of 'administrators' and 'solidarity makers' in national politics (pp. 113–22).

19 Feith 1962: 200 & 263.

20 As one form of financial support, till about 1952 the army held a regular daily subscription of thousands of copies of *Indonesia Raya*, as well as other papers like *Pedoman*. See Chambert-Loir 1974: 631 and Atmakusumah 1980: 185–6. Military officers did not provide the money from their own pockets, but obtained it from other sources in what one security officer described simply as, the 'usual way'!

21 This information is corroborated by separate interviews with two former intelligence officers, including H.J.C. Princen (1 September 1982).

22 See, e.g. the incident described by Atmakusumah (1980: 186), who qualifies his comments by noting that he was unable to obtain an adequate set of the early years of *Indonesia Raya*. For these reasons, it is difficult to verify the nature of such criticism during the first few years of the paper.

23 Confidential interview with former intelligence officer, 1981.

24 Oey Hong Lee (1971) *Indonesian Government and Press During Guided Democracy*, Hull Monographs on South-East Asia, Inter Documentation Company, Zug, p. 51–52. For an overview of the press between 1950 and 1958, see Oey 1971: 40–65 and Smith 1970: 119–71.

25 Kenneth Conboy and James Morrison (1999) *Feet to the Fire: CIA Covert Operations in Indonesia, 1957–1958*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, p. 13 claim that the US CIA

provided one million dollars to the Masyumi prior to the election to strengthen the electoral chances of the anticommunist party. On the election, see Feith 1962: 424–37.

26 Ali Sastroamidjojo headed two cabinets: July 1953–July 1955 and March 1956–March 1957 (see Feith 1962).

27 Rosihan Anwar (1983) *Menulis Dalam Air: Di Sini Sekarang Esok Hilang. Sebuah Otobiografi*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, p. 174.

28 Feith 1962: 323.

29 'Peranakan' refers to those Chinese who are Indonesian-born, have mixed ancestry or who have adopted Indonesian cultural practices. They are juxtaposed against the 'totok', those who are China-born or China-oriented culturally. See Charles A. Coppel (1983) *Indonesian Chinese in Crisis*, ASAA-Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, p. 9. During the Guided Democracy period *Keng Po* and *Sin Po* changed their names to *Pos Indonesia* [Indonesian Post] and *Warta Bhakti* [Loyal Journal] respectively.

30 Atmakusumah 1980: 188.

31 Information on *Indonesia Raya* circulation provided in a chart in Chambert-Loir 1974: 73.

32 National statistics from Serikat Penerbit Suratkabar Pusat [1971] *Garis Besar Perkembangan Pers Indonesia*, SPS, Jakarta, p. 260.

33 Crouch 1978: 29.

34 This account is based on Feith 1962: 246–73 and Crouch 1978: 29–32.

35 PETA was the Volunteer Force for the Defence of the Homeland, established by the Japanese in September 1943. It trained officers up to the level of First Lieutenant.

36 Additional details of the events surrounding the 17 October Affair provided in interviews with Major General (ret.) Dr Azis Saleh (13 September 1982), H.J.C. Princen (1 September 1982) and others. Sukarno gives his version in *An Autobiography as told to Cindy Adams*, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1965, pp. 266–67.

37 Feith 1962: 259.

38 'Sebaiknya Parlemen Dibubarkan' [It would be best if the parliament was disbanded], Editorial, *Indonesia Raya*, 16 October1952, p. 2.

39 *Indonesia Raya* was not alone in presenting such an interpretation. e.g. *Siasat*'s 'Riwayat Pendahuluan Demonstrasi Rakyat', 26 October 1952, pp. 5–6, also downplayed the military participation. Mochtar Lubis had worked in 1949 with *Gelanggang*, the cultural section of *Siasat* and was close to the editorial staff, which had strong PSI and Siliwangi leanings.

40 Feith 1962: 261 describes it as 'substantially an army-organized affair'. Military officers who took part said to me that it was clear that the demonstration was stage-managed by the military and not spontaneous. The demonstrators were mobilised by Lieutenant Colonel Imam Syafe'i, 'known as the 'Boss of Senen' because of his underworld contacts in the seamy Senen district of Jakarta' (Crouch 1978: 174) and were referred to as 'Sjafe'i's bandits' by one officer involved.

41 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981. Unless noted as translations, interview material from Mochtar Lubis is quoted in the English original.

42 Interviews with Brentel Susilo, 14 October 1981 and 29 September 1982.

43 *Indonesia Raya*, 18 October 1952, p. 3. 'Pojok' (literally 'corner') refers to a short, satirical, political column, in colloquial Indonesian, by a pseudonymous *persona* identified as the character or spirit of the newspaper. 'Mas' is a term of affection and respect for an elder brother or male, while 'kluyur' means wandering about. Hence 'Mas Kluyur' might be translated as 'the wanderer'.

44 Feith 1962: 365. Details of the *Indonesia Raya* campaign are given in Chambert-Loir 1974: 75.

45 Sukarno married Sitti Utari, Inggit Garnasih, Fatmawati, Hartini, Dewi, Hariati and Yurike Sanger (the latter not recognised as an Islamic law wife). See J.D. Legge (1973) *Sukarno: A Political Biography*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

46 Sukarno 1965: 284.
47 Kustiniyati Mochtar [no relation to Mochtar Lubis] mentions the articles in her memoirs, 'Catatan Pribadi dari 23 Tahun dalam Pers' (pp. 61–102), in S.K. Trimurti (et al.) [1974] *Wartawan Wanita Berkisah*, PT Badan Penerbit Indonesia Raya, [Jakarta], particularly pp. 74–75.
48 *Sarinah: Kewajiban Wanita Dalam Perjuangan Republik Indonesia* [Sarinah: Women's Obligations in the Struggle of the Republic of Indonesia], Panitia Penerbit Buku-buku Karangan Presiden Sukarno, [Jakarta] 3rd ed. 1963 (1st ed. 1947).
49 Chambert-Loir 1974: 75. My translation.
50 Fourteen months after the initial scoop, *Indonesia Raya* published a front-page report that the President had used the name 'Sukarna', rather than 'Sukarno' on the wedding documents, which, it asserted, rendered the marriage invalid! ('Sukarno Kawin Dengan Hartini Dgn[sic] Pakai Nama Sukarna' ['Sukarno married Hartini using the name Sukarna], *Indonesia Raya*, 26 November 1955, p. 1.) Chambert-Loir (1974: 75) counted over thirty articles relating to the Hartini marriage in *Indonesia Raya* between September 1954 and the end of the year, with subsequent articles running over until the end of the following year.
51 'Kentung dan Tukang Obat', *Mutiara*, No. 9, I, 7 December 1949, pp. 6–7 & 26–27. Quotation from p. 27.
52 Feith 1962: 365.
53 For a discussion of the build-up and the conference see Feith 1962: 384–94. In his memoir, Ali Sastroamijoyo (1979) devotes 30 pages to the conference. He concludes: 'It was because of the Bandung Conference that our country very soon acquired a respected place on the map of world politics.' (p. 304)
54 Note comments in Feith 1962: 393 and footnote 128.
55 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
56 Feith 1962: 394.
57 'Lie Hok Thay Carikan Wanita-wanita Untuk Pembesar-pembesar Indonesia', *Indonesia Raya*, 18 August 1956, p. 1, & *Indonesia Raya* 27 August 1956, p. 1 has a leading article on the 'hospitality committee'.
58 *Indonesia Raya*, 31 July 1956, p. 1 and subsequent issues.
59 Quoted in Atmakusumah 1980: 194–95, which describes the protests of the General Assembly of the Indonesian Women's Congress [*Kongres Wanita Indonesia*, KOWANI] on 5 August 1956, verified later, by Nani Suwondo at a meeting with the press on 8 June 1958, as being directed at *Indonesia Raya*. A letter from the female public servant sexually harassed by her boss, published in *Indonesia Raya* (see above) was, according to Nani Suwondo, never intended for publication. Atmakusumah cites as his source Alex A. Rachim, 'Perkembangan Pornografi dalam Pers Indonesia', in Nugroho Notosusanto (ed.) (1977–78) *Pornografi dalam Pers Indonesia – Sebuah Orientasi*, Seri Monografi Dewan Pers, [Jakarta], p. 93.
60 Njoto (1958) *Pers dan Massa*, N.V. Rakyat, [Jakarta] p. 77.
61 Njoto 1958: 42, cites Djawoto's *Jurnalistik dalam praktek* [Yayasan Kantor Berita Nasional Antara, Jakarta, 1959 (2nd edn), p. 67].
62 Mochtar described such a cartoon of himself which appeared in a rival paper (interview, 27 January 1981).
63 e.g. Njoto 1958: 77, 80 & 107.
64 Chambert-Loir 1974: 72 notes *Indonesia Raya*'s disillusionment with Nasution after the 17 October debacle citing the editorial on 12 November 1956. He also registers *Indonesia Raya*'s continued pressure for a more authoritarian form of government with a diminished role for the political parties.
65 'Pelopor Dalam Revolusi, Pelopor Dalam Pembangunan' [Pioneers in the Revolution, Pioneers in Development], *Indonesia Raya*, 13 July 1955, p. 3.

66 Brief biographical details of these two men are given in *Tempo* magazine's *Apa & Siapa: Sejumlah orang Indonesia 1981*–1982, Grafitipers, Jakarta, 1981, pp. 422–24 and pp. 334–35 respectively.
67 Feith 1962: 440–44 & 500–507 and Ulf Sundhaussen (1982) *The Road to Power: Indonesian Military Politics 1945*–1967, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 72–103.
68 Feith 1962: 502. See also Ali Sastroamijoyo 1979: 339–43 for his version of events.
69 On *Indonesia Raya*'s 1956 campaigns, see David T. Hill (1987a) 'Press Challenges, Government Responses: Two Campaigns in *Indonesia Raya*' (pp. 21–38) in Paul Tickell (ed.) (1987) *The Indonesian Press: Its Past, Its People, Its Problems*, Monash University, Clayton.
70 *Indonesia Raya*, 7 January 1956.
71 Feith 1962: 503–7.
72 See *Indonesia Raya*, 14 August 1956 and subsequent editions. Feith 19622: 503–4 describes key aspects of *Indonesia Raya*'s coverage.
73 *Indonesia Raya* attempted to bring the moral character of the Foreign Minister into question by publishing a note, purportedly from him to Lie Hok Thay, requesting a copy of a supposed sex book: Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*! (*Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 2 December 1956 and editions for following week).
74 Feith 1962: 510.
75 This account is based on Feith 1962: 500–507. See also Atmakusumah 1980: 196–99.
76 *Indonesia Raya* entered into argument with *Harian Rakyat* over the latter's charge that Zulkifli Lubis had improperly interfered in an application for a domestic telephone connection for a person then overseas with an Indonesian delegation. (*Indonesia Raya* 'Lagi-lagi Harian Rakyat Bohong! Mau Bikin Cemar Nama Z. Lubis', 20 August 1956, p. 1. See also *Indonesia Raya*, 20 December 1956, p. 1.)
77 See Mochtar Lubis's prison diary, *Catatan Subversif* [Subversive Notes], Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1980, p. 14 & 17.
78 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981. Mochtar stressed to me that he had relatives in many political parties and that he was no closer to Zulkifli Lubis than to these other relatives.
79 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 17. From 1946 in Jogjakarta Zulkifli Lubis had headed the Fifth Office of the Ministry of Defence (which dealt with intelligence matters), and Special Military Investigations. See Tempo 1981: 334.
80 See 'Menteri Luar Negeri Tersangkut Perkara 1,500,000 Rupiah', *Indonesia Raya* 14 August 1956, along with other front page statements by Zulkifli Lubis and other officers supporting Kawilarang.
81 This account is based on Feith 1962: 520–26.
82 Quoted from Mochtar Lubis's recollections of the censored editorial, in *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 2. Chambert-Loir 1974: 87–88 provides a French translation of a copy of the draft which he obtained from Hasjim Mahdan.
83 *Indonesia Raya*, 22 December 1956, p. 1.
84 Sundhaussen 1982: 102.
85 Feith 1962: 436–37.
86 Feith 1962: 524. Mochtar Lubis discusses his view of the relationship between Sukarno and Hatta, against the background of political developments, in Mochtar Lubis (ed.) (1986) *Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman: Surat-surat Bung Hatta kepada Presiden Soekarno 1957–1965* [Conscience Resists Tyranny: Hatta's letters to President Sukarno, 1957–1965], Sinar Harapan, Jakarta. For a critique of this book, see Sutan Ali Asli, 'Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman'-nya Mochtar Lubis: Menunggangi "Perpecahan" yang tidak ada!', *Merdeka*, 10–12 November 1986 (in three parts).

87 For a discussion of the regional elections results, see Daniel S. Lev (1966) *The Transition to Guided Democracy: Indonesian Politics, 1957–1959*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, pp. 84–105.
88 The estimate of percentages was made by Mochtar Lubis in an interview, 13 January 1981. Mochtar observed that most of the journalists in Jakarta during the early post-Independence years were non-Javanese, mostly from North Sumatra and Minangkabau.
89 It was headed by Syafruddin Prawiranegara (Masyumi) as Prime Minister, and included in the Cabinet the Masyumi leaders (and former prime ministers) Natsir and Burhanuddin Harahap along with the PSI figure Sumitro Djojohadikusumo and PSI-leaning officers such as Simbolon.
90 Quotation from Mochtar Lubis (ed.) (1986) *Hati Nurani Melawan Kezaliman: Surat-surat Bung Hatta kepada Presiden Soekarno 1957–1965*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, p. 50. On CIA involvement, see Conboy and Morrison 1999.
91 Quoted in Hanna (1961) WAH-29-'59, p. 2.
92 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 3.
93 Hanna 1961, WAH-29-'59, p. 3.
94 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 47.
95 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 14.
96 Brian May (1978) *The Indonesian Tragedy*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p. 391. It seems Nasution was referring to an *Indonesia Raya* Editorial Assistant card that had been given to Captain Sulistiadi, a member of the Zulkifli Lubis faction. See *Catatan Subversif*, 1980: 16 & 38.
97 Hanna 1961, WAH-29-'59, p. 3.
98 Hanna 1961, WAH-29-'59, p. 2.
99 Smith (1969) provides tabulated data on actions against the press. In 1952, there were two arrests with two journalists jailed (p. 152) and in 1953, two were also jailed (p. 178). In 1954, the editor of *Harian Rakyat*, was the only journalist jailed, receiving a sentence of seven days for criticisms of the US President (p. 182 & 186). In 1955 two journalists were jailed (p. 194), with two arrested and one jailed the following year (p. 199). All detentions appear to be of short duration.
100 Oey 1971: 52.
101 Atmakusumah 1980: 202, citing Lembaga Pers dan Pendapat Umum (Jogjakarta), *Kronik Pers 1957*, October 1959, p. 84.
102 'IPI Protest to Indonesia', *IPI Report*, June 1958, p. 12. This journal published regular reports on Mochtar Lubis from his arrest till his release in 1961.
103 One of Mochtar's early short stories described the narrator's friendships with Western journalists in Jakarta, as they sat around in hotel lobbies, swapping stories and drinking together. See 'Sarah Yvonne Dew &[sic] macam-macam yang lain' [S Y D & all kinds of others], *Mutiara*, 7, II, 1 May 1950, pp. 8–9 & 24–25. See also his story 'Perempuan' [Woman], [reprinted in H.B. Jassin (ed.) (1968) *Analisa*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 8–21] set in a journalists' club in Tokyo.
104 Hanna (1956a) [WAH-9-'56], p. 8.
105 See Willard A. Hanna (1956b), ' "Eternal" at Five and One-Half: The Biography of a Newspaper', American University Field Staff SEA Series Vol IV, No. 12, [WAH-12-56] p. 183.
106 Hanna (1961) WAH-29-'59, p. 5.
107 In *Pers dan Wartawan* 1952: 6 Mochtar Lubis thanks 'Dr W.O. Hanna'. Hanna was later associated with Mochtar, as an individual donor to the Obor Foundation. Other handbooks were *Teknik Mengarang* [Writing Techniques] (edited by Mochtar Lubis), Balai Pustaka, Jakarta [1949 1st edn] (5th edn Kurnia Esa, Jakarta 1981) and *Tehnik Mengarang Scenario Pilem* [Writing Techniques for Film Scenarios], Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1953.

108 The thesis, Smith 1969, was translated into Indonesian in 1983. In reviewing the translation, the senior journalist Mohammad Said, wrote 'Smith admires Mochtar Lubis and it could be said Mochtar Lubis has become his 'hero' … [Like] Smith, many politicians from America and other Western capitalist countries spurred on their 'hero' Mochtar for particular purposes.'('Sejarah Pembreidelan Pers di Indonesia', *Harian Waspada* (Medan), 20 May 1983).

109 Robert H. Crawford (1967) *The Daily Indonesian Language Press of Jakarta: Analysis of Two Recent Critical Periods*, PhD, Syracuse University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, p. 139.

110 Hanna 1956a:1 & 12. John Gunther (1901–70) was an American travel writer.

111 The month-long trip with Adam Malik is described in *Perkenalan ke Asia Tenggara* [Introduction to Southeast Asia], Gapura, Jakarta, 1951. Chambert-Loir (1974: 31 & 34–6) provides details of this, and Mochtar Lubis's subsequent trips abroad, summarised here. His Korean experience is described in *Catatan Korea* [Korean Notes], Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1951.

112 See *Perlawatan ke Amerika Serikat* [Journey to the United States of America], Gapura, Jakarta, 1952.

113 See Mochtar Lubis's 'Panorama dari tujuh bukit' [Panorama from seven hills] (pp. 45–53) in S. Tasrif, Mochtar Lubis and Rosihan Anwar (1953) *Ke Barat dari Rumah: Tiga Laporan Perjalanan Jurnalistik* [To the West from Home: Three Reports of a Journalistic Journey], Kementerian Penerangan, Jakarta.

114 Mochtar recounted his scathing impressions of Indonesian diplomatic staff abroad in a series of *Indonesia Raya* articles, compiled into a controversial book, *Indonesia di mata dunia: dan goresan-goresan perjalanan* [Indonesia in the eyes of the world: and travel sketches], Tintamas, Jakarta, 1955 (1st edn., 2nd edn 1960). For a discussion of this work, and Mochtar's other travels, see Hanna 1956a.

115 The conference report was published as *Cultural Freedom in Asia*, CCF & Charles E. Tuttle Co, Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan [1955].

116 Officially a UN correspondent, he was given accreditation by General MacArthur, and provided with a US military officer's uniform to wear (*Catatan Korea* 1951: 13 & 15). He spent about two weeks in Korea, and described his reactions to the combat in 'Wartawan Perang' [War Correspondent] (pp. 34–36) *Buku Kenang-Kenangan Dua Tahun Usia Reporters Club* [Reporters' Club Second Anniversary Commemorative Volume] [1952], [no pub.] Jakarta.

117 Rose 1987: 170.

118 Michael Leifer (1983) *Indonesia's Foreign Policy*, Royal Institute of International Affairs & George Allen & Unwin, London, p. 19.

119 Leifer 1983: 20. Hatta's speech was later published as *Mendayung Antara Dua Karang* [Rowing between two rocks], Department of Information, Jakarta, 1951.

120 Leifer 1983: 27–8.

121 Rose 1987: 170 cites this quotation in J.M. van der Kroef, 'Indonesia and the West', *Far Eastern Survey*, 20, 4 (21 December 1952), p. 40.

122 *Catatan Korea* 1951: 4. Subsequent page references in the text refer to this edition.

123 He mentions specifically US decisions in Indo-China and Formosa. C*atatan Korea* 1951: 75.

124 *Perlawatan ke Amerika Serikat*, 1952: 99.

125 For details, see Feith 1962: 200 and Atmakusumah 1980: 191–92.

126 The *First Report to Congress on the Implementation of the Mutual Security Act of 1951*, 1 December 1951, quoted in Feith 1962: 199. My emphasis.

127 This account of events is based on Feith 1962: 198–205.

128 Quotations from Ali Sastroamijoyo 1979: 231.

129 Quoted in Paul F. Gardner (1997) *Shared Hopes, Separate Fears: Fifty years of U.S.-Indonesian Relations*, Westview Press, Boulder, p. 106–7, from an interview 9 September 1994.
130 For a discussion of Indonesia's relations with China during this period, see David Mozingo (1976) *Chinese Policy toward Indonesia, 1949–1967*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, particularly pp. 86–144.
131 The incident was recalled by Suardi Tasrif who was present (interview 23 January 1981).
132 Interview with Soebadio Sastrosatomo, 24 February 1981.
133 *Amnesty newsletter*, [London], No. 8, 4 October 1961. When it began publicising his detention in October 1961 Mochtar was the first Indonesian whose case was raised by Amnesty, which had only been established in May 1961. He was formally adopted as a 'prisoner of conscience' in 1964.
134 *Indonesia Raya*, 30 June 1956, p. 1. Months later, when Sam Soeharto was questioned by authorities over another cartoon, deemed offensive, he declared that Mochtar Lubis had put the idea to him, which Mochtar acknowledged. This suggests Mochtar's influence, even over cartoons, was strong.
135 *Indonesia Raya*, 13 December 1955, p. 1.
136 'Kongres Partai Komunis di Moskow', *Indonesia Raya*, 23 February 1956.
137 Firdaus, whose first article was an Islamic legal view of Sukarno's marriage to Hartini, sometimes published under the pseudonym Muchlis. See Firdaus A.N. (1967) *Dari Penjara ke Meja Hijau*, Pustaka Nida, Jakarta, p. 59.
138 *Indonesia Raya*, 18 September 1956.
139 *Riwayat dan Analisa Perkawinan Soekarno-Hartini* was published under his pseudonym in 1955. Firdaus 1967 is his account of his detention and trial (see pp. 79–80). In 1964, he was sentenced to a token six months jail, minus time served (Firdaus 1967: 153). The domestic Anti-Communist Front later changed its name to the Indonesian People's Anti-Communist League, an obvious reference to the wider Asian Body (Firdaus 1967: 94).
140 'Aidit tidak jujur', *Indonesia Raya*, 5 July 1956, p. 1.
141 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 57. During this time, Mochtar translated former Yugoslavian Vice President Milovan Djilas's critique of contemporary communism, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System* (Thames & Hudson, London, 1957). The translation, *Kelas Baru*, appeared in *Indonesia Raya* in the closing months of 1957 and was published in book form by Penerbit Suara Indonesia Raya in 1968 (Chambert-Loir 1974: 245).
142 Mochtar Lubis, 'Maria Ullfah Subadio', *Kompas*, 17 April 1988, pp. 1 & 13.
143 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 65.
144 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 43.
145 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 45–46.
146 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 54.
147 The periods of detention varied, with the maximum being about three months. Editor Enggak Bahau'ddin was detained on four separate occasions (Atmakusumah 1980: 208). In January 1958, Kustiniyati Mochtar, *Indonesia Raya*'s managing editor was the first woman journalist in postindependence Indonesia to be brought to court, but the libel charge was subsequently dismissed (Kustiniyati Mochtar [1974]:84–93). Sam Soeharto ('Kini Bisa Diceriterakan', *Indonesia Raya*, 31 October 1969, p. 2) claims that the paper was banned 17 times to September 1958, but Atmakusumah (1980: 205 & 208–9) feels the figure of six given by Hasjim Mahdan (in 'Pembaca *Indonesia Raya* Berhak Mengetahui Inti Persoalannya', *Indonesia Raya*, 7 October 1958) is more accurate. See his Note 46, p. 182.
148 Catatan Subversif 1980: 120–21.
149 Chambert-Loir 1974: 93–94.

150 Hasjim Mahdan, 'Pembaca *Indonesia Raya* Berhak Mengetahui Inti Persoalannya', *Indonesia Raya*, 7 October 1958 (quoted in part in Atmakusumah 1980: 210).
151 Atmakusumah 1980: 209.
152 Atmakusumah 1980: 216 notes that Hasjim Mahdan and Sarhindi together controlled 75 per cent of the company shares.
153 Interview with Atmakusumah, 26 March 1981.
154 Atmakusumah 1980: 178–79 reproduces the front page of these competing '*Indonesia Raya*' papers, both dated Tuesday 4 November 1958. One, published by Hasjim Mahdan with new editorial staff, gives the full publication details of number and year, while the other, by the Mochtar Lubis group (led by Ali Muchtar Huta Suhut and Enggak Bahau'ddin) lacks a publication number. Atmakusumah 1980: 220 notes that the Mochtar group printed their paper as an afternoon edition, on the *Abadi* presses after the Hasjim Mahdan group had published theirs in the morning. Atmakusumah, a party to the clash, gives a detailed account of it (1980: 209–22).
155 Hasjim Mahdan's *Indonesia Raya* began with a print run of between 20,000 and 22,000 (Atmakusumah 1980: 221), far below the 1957–58 peak of 47,500 achieved by the paper before the split (Chambert-Loir 1974: 73).
156 For some readers, Mas Kluyur epitomised the spirit of *Indonesia Raya*. Journalist Hanna Rambe who joined *Indonesia Raya* after its reappearance in 1968 described how Mas Kluyur was regarded in her family in the 1950s in 'Mas Kluyur membentuk hidupku' (pp. 103–155) in Trimurti et al. [1974], especially pp. 103–113.
157 Kustiniyati Mochtar [1974]:72 & 82.
158 Soebagijo I.N. 1981: 363–64 and Soebagijo I.N., Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo & Swantoro (eds) 1977: 26–29.
159 The assisting officer was Brigadier-General Sutoyo Siswomiharjo, an early backer of *Indonesia Raya* and one of the six generals killed on the morning of 1 October 1965 (interview with Mochtar Lubis, 16 February 1981). See also Smith 1969: 175.
160 A. Umar Said, *Perjalanan Hidup Saya*, Yayasan Pancur Siwah, Jakarta, 2004, p. 74, downloadable from http://kontak.club.fr/RiwayatSaid.pdf, sighted 4 January 2007.
161 *Pers dan Wartawan*, 1952: 13–14. Mochtar Lubis takes the internal quotation from an American publication on the press. See also pp. 18 & 21.
162 Some of the contemporary debates within the Jakarta press community on such tensions are surveyed in Kerry W. Groves (1983) *Harian Rakyat, Daily Newspaper of the Communist Party of Indonesia – Its History and Role*, Masters thesis in Asian Studies, A.N.U., Canberra, pp. 29–55.
163 Kustiniyati Mochtar [1974]:82.
164 The agreement was *Peraturan Peperti Nomor 10* (dated 12 October 1960). Atmakusumah 1980: 222–26 summarises the debate in the *IPI Report*, during March, April and June 1961. The 19 points are listed in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.) 1980: 154–55.
165 Soebagijo IN, Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, P. Swantoro 1977: 31. The 1960 IPI General Assembly in Tokyo dissolved the national committee, because 'in its opinion there is no freedom of the press any more' in Indonesia (quoting from S. Tasrif, 'The Background to the Case of Rosihan Anwar', *IPI Report*, June 1961, p. 7).
166 *Indonesia Raya*, 15 March 1956 and 20 October 1956, both p. 1.
167 *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 2 October 1956, p. 1.
168 'IPI Protest to Indonesia', *IPI Report,* June 1958, p. 12.
169 Mochtar Lubis, 'The Other View', *IPI Report* March 1961, p. 8 (Emphasis in the original.) The *Manipol* (Political Manifesto) referred to the President's Independence Day speech of 17 August 1959, while USDEK was an acronym for the ideological basis of the State (i.e. the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian-style Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Identity). See Legge 1973: 1–4; 330–32.

170 S. Tasrif, 'The Background to the Case of Rosihan Anwar', *IPI Report*, June 1961, p. 7–8, quoting from p. 8. After his death in 1991, Tasrif's principled contribution to the development of professional journalistic ethics was recognised by an annual award named in his honour, given by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI).
171 '*IPI Report*, June 1961, p. 1. See Rosihan Anwar 1983: 244–48 for his reflections on this affair, summed up by his comment 'how foolish I was at that time'.
172 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 154, dated 29 April 1961 and *IPI Report*, May 1961, p. 11.
173 This account is given in the 'Discussion of Institute's Policy', *IPI Report*, August 1961 p. 7. Mochtar's account is given in *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 156–58 (which appears to be based on the *IPI Report*).
174 *IPI Report*, August 1961, p. 7.
175 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 159.
176 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 163, dated early June 1960. Years later, Mochtar admitted that, although he did not mention Sukarno by name in his attack, 'I meant him' (Avena 1987: 72).
177 e.g. Mochtar was the only former detainee actually named in the report of the release of these prisoners, in *Time* magazine ('Indonesia: Tightening the Noose', [Australian Edition] 27 May 1966, p. 23) and *The Times* [London] ('Indonesian army to carry on border fighting', 14 May 1966, p. 8; 'Indonesia frees 15 politicians', 18 May 1966, p. 10). See also reports in *The New York Times* ('Foes of Sukarno to gain freedom', 17 April 1966, p. 3; 'Indonesia frees 15 prominent political prisoners', 18 May 1966, p. 18; and 'Indonesian press fears new curbs', 6 September 1966, p. 2).
178 *Radio dan Masyarakat*, [Jakarta], June-July 1951, No. 13–14, p. 23.
179 'Compromise – Or Capitulate?', *IPI Report*, March 1961, p. 5. Reprinted in Feith and Castles (ed.) 1970: 130–35.
180 These comments were made in a discussion with former editors of rival papers in 1982.
181 Rosihan Anwar (1981) *Sebelum Prahara: Pergolakan Politik Indonesia 1961*–1965, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, p. 80.
182 Marbangun in the *Lembaga Pers dan Pendapat Umum* magazine *Warta dan Massa*, quoted in Njoto 1958: 40.

4 'Speaking to the World'

1 Interview with H.B. Jassin, 9 January 1981. The story was never published. Mochtar discussed his early relationship with Jassin in 'H.B. Jassin Pahlawan Budaya' [H.B.J. Cultural Hero] (pp. 3–8) in Sapardi Djoko Damono (ed.) 1987.
2 The first short story I located is 'Si Jamal dan buku-buku' (Kisah benar kejadian oleh Mochtar H. Lubis) [Jamal and books (a true story by M.H.L)], *Gelanggang, Siasat*, 5 December 1948, p. 8. When I inquired about this use of a middle initial 'H' – the only occurrence I found – he did not remember its significance, suggesting it was probably adopted from his father's personal name, Husein (interview with Mochtar Lubis, 8 March 1982). The first essay, 'Aliran Romantik' [Romanticism], was published a week later in *Siasat*, 12 December 1948, pp. 6 & 9.
3 Teeuw 1967: 115.
4 Gapura, Jakarta, February 1950. On Mochtar's short stories, see Chambert-Loir 1974: 243–45 & 247.
5 Reference is also made to the Revolution in *Tanah Gersang* [Barren Land] (1964).
6 Umar Junus (1981) *Mitos dan Komunikasi*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, p. 133.
7 Chambert-Loir 1974: 167 diagrammatically represents 28 time shifts in the novel, from January 1938 to the April 1949. See also D.T. Hill (1996) 'Leadership, social order and democracy: The novels of a "secular modernizing intellectual" ', *Indonesia Circle*, No. 69, pp. 102–21.

8 Kahin 1952: 163 described this group as 'a sort of territorially based home guard in which all Masyumi members were liable for service'.
9 *Tidak Ada Esok*, Gapura, Jakarta, 1950. Jassin omits Mochtar Lubis in his discussion of the achievements of Indonesian literature to 1952 ('Sepuluh Tahun Kesusastraan Indonesia', in H.B. Jassin 1985), but mentions the satire of *Si Jamal* in another 1952 essay, 'Idrus Pengarang *Surabaya*' [Vol. 2, p. 47].
10 Jassin 1985, Vol. 2, p. 204, in 'Tidak Ada Esok', pp. 203–6.
11 Keith Foulcher (1980), *Pujangga Baru: Literature and Nationalism in Indonesia 1933–1942*, Flinders University Asian Studies Monograph, [Bedford Park], pp. 23–25. *Pujangga Baru* magazine (July 1933–February 1942), edited by Takdir Alisjahbana, Amir Hamzah and Armijn Pane, was a major outlet for leading writers of the prewar period. It was later revived from 1948 to 1953.
12 Achdiat K. Mihardja (ed.) (1977) *Polemik Kebudayaan*, Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta (1st ed., 1948).
13 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
14 Jassin 1985 Vol. 2, p. 6–8, in the essay 'Angkatan 45' (pp. 1–19).
15 Translation from A.H. Johns' introduction to Mochtar Lubis, *A Road with No End*, translated from the Indonesian and edited by Anthony H. Johns, Graham Brash, Singapore 1982, pp. 4–5. The declaration was published on 22 October 1950 in *Gelanggang*. For contrasting discussions, see Teeuw 1967: 126–29 and Scherer 1981: 127–31.
16 Jassin 1984: 84–85.
17 Such figures included Dolf Verspoor, regarded even by some anticommunists as working for Dutch intelligence (NEFIS), and Drs Rob Nieuwenhuis, who, with friends, published the cultural magazines *Orientatie* and *Kritiek en Opbouw* (interview with Achdiat K. Mihardja, Canberra, 15 December 1984).
18 See Jassin 1984: 84–88, published in earlier editions of Jassin 1985 as 'Humanisme universil'.
19 In political parlance the '1945 Generation' referred to the people mobilised into the nationalist struggle in the years of guerrilla fighting from 1945 (rather than earlier). In literary discussion, it was used for writers, associated with Chairil Anwar and *Gelanggang* (and sometimes called the 'Chairil Anwar' or '*Gelanggang*' Generation), distinguished from prewar writers (Jassin 1985, Vol. 2, p. 2). Debates raged regarding the appropriateness and definition of these terms, especially whether members of the leftist cultural institute LEKRA were included in this 1945 Generation, since the term referred more to a community of common belief than a chronological period (Bakri Siregar, 'Prof. D.A. Teeuw Tentang Lekra', *Zaman Baru*, June 1956, pp. 29–32, particularly p. 29). Foulcher 1986: 21–23 discusses the political implications of this terminology.
20 English used in the original.
21 My emphasis. *Siasat*, III, No. 144, 4 December 1949, p. 6. In an interview (11 March 1981), Mochtar Lubis said that he did not see himself as being a member of any particular generation, or identifiable support group of writer-friends amongst whom he circulated drafts or discussed plans, but I feel he was simply trying to distance himself from the practice of type-casting 'generations', rather than denying these comments written over 30 years earlier.
22 Teeuw 1967: 129 cites Asrul Sani's *Catatan atas Kertas Merah Jambu* (Notes on Pink Paper) *Mimbar Indonesia* [early 1950?]. Translation from Teeuw.
23 Foulcher 1986 and Yahaya Ismail (1972) *Pertumbuhan, Perkembangan dan Kejatuhan Lekra di Indonesia: Satu Tinjauan dari Aspek Sosio-Budaya*, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur. The most comprehensive analysis of literature by a senior LEKRA member, including criticisms of the 'universal humanism' of the *Gelanggang* group, was given by Pramoedya Ananta Toer at a Seminar at the Faculty of Arts,

University of Indonesia, on 26 January 1963. This text was finally published as *Realisme-sosialis dan sastra Indonesia*, Lentera Dipantara, Jakarta, 2003. The LEKRA Preamble (*Mukaddimah*) (1950 and 1955 versions) outlining the institute's principles appears with translation in Foulcher 1986: 209–22.

24 Interview with Joebaar Ajoeb, 25 October 1982.

25 Interview (25 October 1982) and correspondence (25 November 1982) with Joebaar Ajoeb.

26 Personal correspondence, with Joebaar Ajoeb, 25 November 1982.

27 Multatuli was a pseudonym for Dutch national E. Douwes Dekker. See introductions by Roy Edwards (translator) and D.H. Lawrence to the English translation, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1982 (pp. 7–8 & 11).

28 Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1952 (to which all subsequent page references refer). Detailed studies of *Jalan Tak Ada Ujung* include Hutagalung 1968 and Tim Peneliti Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia 1979. The novel was translated by Anthony H. Johns as *A Road With No End* (Hutchinson, London, 1968; Graham Brash, Singapore 1982).

29 Teeuw 1967: 197 describes it as 'one of the soundest novels to be found in the whole of modern Indonesian literature'; Johns (introduction to *A Road with No End* 1982: 3) regards it as having established 'the place of Lubis in modern Indonesian literature'; while, in 1952, Jassin described it, Idrus's *Surabaya* and Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Keluarga Gerilya*, 'the peaks of the literature of the Generation of 1945'. See H.B. Jassin (1955) *Kesusasteraan Indonesia Modern dalam Kritik dan Essay*, Gunung Agung, Jakarta, (2nd ed.) p. 222.

30 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.

31 Mochtar Lubis mentions the writing of the novel in a discussion of the Japanese translation. The novel has also been translated into English, Dutch, Italian, Hindi, Korean and Thai (*The Toyota Foundation Occasional Report*, (Tokyo), No. 2, September 1982, p. 4).

32 'Pemuda' (literally 'youth, young person') connoted a young fighter for independence.

33 Johns' translation, p. 151; *Indonesian*, p. 127.

34 Subagio Sastrowardojo 1971: 66. On BMKN, see Claire Holt (1967) *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 246–48.

35 According to Bakri Siregar (interview 4 March 1981), the LEKRA judges had protested about the BMKN stipulation that the winning novel should be set during the Revolution, which they regarded as overly proscriptive. The appropriateness of the award remained controversial, even decades later, e.g. Pamusuk Eneste, 'Ketakutan Guru Isa: Penilaian Kembali', *Horison*, April 1978, XIII, No. 4, pp. 123–25, see p. 125).

36 H.B. Jassin, 'Asli atau Saduran?', *Harian Mimbar Indonesia*, 7 February 1953 reprinted in Jassin 1985, Vol. 1, pp. 54–58.

37 Mochtar Lubis, '*Jalan tak ada ujung* tak ada hubungan dgn[sic] *This Land is Mine*', *Harian Mimbar Indonesia* 16 February 1953. Having viewed the film, I believe the similarity is coincidental.

38 Pramoedya 2003: 142–46 discusses the nature of 'patriotic-bourgeois' literature.

39 Bintang Suradi (ed. and trans.), [1962], *Contemporary Progressive Indonesian Poetry*, League of People's Culture, [Jakarta], p. 8.

40 Mochtar made the comparison in 'Buku yang akan datang', (*Gelanggang, Siasat*, 20 February 1949, II, No. 103, pp. 7–8), reviewing *The Shape of Books to Come*, a study of American literature by J. Donald Adams.

41 In 1959, the Chairman described the IPI as having been 'born in America' but said it was 'in fact becoming genuinely international' (*IPI Report*, August 1959).

42 On the CCF in the American and international context, see 'The Cultural Cold War: A Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom', Chapter 3 of Christopher Lasch (1970) *The Agony of the American Left*, Andre Deutsch, London, pp. 63–114 (quotation p. 67). Referring to the organisations' connection with the American government, Lasch

argues the CCF had a 'quasi-official character', because of the official positions formerly held by the main American promoters of the organisations, Melvin J. Lasky (formerly with the American Information Service and editor of *Der Monat*, a US government-sponsored magazine in Germany) and Michael Josselson (former officer in the Office of Strategic Services, the precursor to the CIA, who became CCF executive director) (Lasch 1970: 63).

43 Volker R. Berghahn (2001) *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe*: *Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford (quotation p. 171).

44 Goenawan Mohamad (2003) *Celebrating Indonesia: Fifty Years with the Ford Foundation 1953–2003*, Equinox Publishing, Jakarta, p. 10.

45 Hilton Kramer (1999) *The Twilight of the Intellectuals: Culture and Politics in the Era of the Cold War*, Ivan R. Dee, Chicago, p. 305.

46 Frances Stonor Saunders (2000) *The cultural cold war: The CIA and the world of arts and letters* New Press, New York, p. 86 & 129. Other valuable studies of the CCF include Berghahn 2001 and Peter Coleman (1989) *The liberal conspiracy: the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the struggle for the mind of postwar Europe*, Free Press, New York.

47 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 16 February 1981.

48 Lasch 1970: 72.

49 *The New Republic*, Vol. 156, No. 9, 4 March 1967, p. 8.

50 Congress for Cultural Freedom 1956 for details of this meeting, with Mochtar's contribution on pp. 134–35.

51 Feith's review of Congress for Cultural Freedom 1956 in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 30, No. 3, September 1957, pp. 269–70.

52 'Kemerdekaan dan Kebudayaan Modern', *Indonesia Raya*, 11 April 1956, p. 3.

53 Interview with Ivan Kats, 12 April 1982. Recipients included prominent political figures, such as Mohamad Roem, Mohammad Natsir and Anak Agung Gde Agung, then detained with Mochtar Lubis. On the CCF in Indonesia, see Coleman 1989: 208–9.

54 Interview with Ivan Kats, Jakarta, 12 April 1982. Mochtar Lubis emphasised that the CCF defended the rights of leftists who were suffering under pressure from right-wing national governments, specifically in South America (interview, 18 March 1982).

55 LEKRA [1962] *Laporan Kebudayaan Rakyat* (Vol. 2), LEKRA, Jakarta, pp. 179–80; Sitor Situmorang's comments reported in Rosihan Anwar 1981: 373; and 'Neo-kolonialisme dan Konfrontasi Kebudayaan: AA ini adalah Nefos', *Suluh Indonesia*, 15 January 1964, p. 3.

56 Kats apparently arranged for Goenawan Mohammad to get a portable typewriter to assist him with his writing (correspondence dated 25 November 1965, in the H.B. Jassin Literary Documentation Centre, Jakarta). Kats was guest editor of a special Indonesia issue of the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom's journal *Quadrant* (September–October 1969) (Coleman 1989: 296 fn21). On the CCF, Kats and Goenawan Mohamad, see Steele 2005: 37–47.

57 On the popular novel industry, see D.T. Hill (1979) 'Alienation and Opposition to Authoritarianism in the novels of Ashadi Siregar', *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 25–43.

58 Full-page advertisement in *Mutiara*, 30 January 1950, II, No. 1. Such figures, especially when used in advertising, should be regarded with some scepticism. Chambert-Loir 1974: 70 cites the December 1949 figure of 5,000, declining to 3,500 by October 1951.

59 Johns, Introduction to *Road With No End*, 1982, p. 14.

60 Interview with Joebaar Ajoeb, 25 October 1982.

61 A synopsis of the film appears in *Kencana* magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1953, p. 6–7; see also *Gembira* No. 34, 22 August 1953 for a review.

62 *Teknik Mengarang Skenario Film*, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1953; *Teknik Mengarang*, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta 1950; and *Pers dan Wartawan: Teori dan Praktik dalam Jurnalistik*, Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1950.
63 Details of the 18 short stories (10 of which had been published previously either in *Indonesia Raya* or the fiction magazine, *Kisah*) are given in Chambert-Loir 1974: 244.
64 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981. 'Perempuan' was published previously in *Kisah*, April 1954, II, No. 4, with an analysis by Jassin (p. 102), while 'Orang Gila' appeared in *Kisah*, March 1954, II, No. 3, pp. 71 & 94.
65 'Pengakuan-pengakuan Seorang Pengarang' [An Author's Confessions], *Buku Kita* (monthly magazine), No. 5, May 1955, pp. 200–2.
66 References are to *Senja di Jakarta*, Penerbit Indonesia Raya, Jakarta, 1970 edition. 'Tamu dari Penjara' [The Guest from the Prison] (previously in *Roman* magazine, June 1955, II, 6, pp. 11–12 & 14) is incorporated in the novel as the August 'City Report', pp. 103–9. The May City Report (pp. 29–36) had been published as 'Rampok' [Robber], in *Mutiara*, II, 2, 28 February 1950, pp. 10–11.
67 Published in *Kisah*, February 1954, II, No. 2, pp. 57–59.
68 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 47, dated 15 February 1957. PWI Secretary-General was Suraedi Tahsin, editor of the pro-Sukarno leftist *Bintang Timur* daily, who was later appointed Ambassador to Mali by Sukarno and spent his life in exile abroad until his death 25 February 2003 in Amsterdam. See http://kontak.club.fr/S.%20Tahsin%20sebagai%20wartawan%20dan%20pejuang.htm, sighted 16 November 2006.
69 http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/category-JLCCA.htm, sighted 20 November 2006.
70 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 144.
71 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11March 1981 and *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 151. During the German occupation, Frode Jakobsen had founded the Danish Freedom Association, effectively an underground government. He served as a Member of Parliament in Denmark from 1945 to 1973, and died in 1997. http://www.bonde.com/index.phtml?sid=841&aid=20988, sighted 16 November 2006.
72 Chambert-Loir 1974: 155 cites a second English edition dated 1964, while Johns' Introduction to *Road With No End*, 1982, p. 3, mentions the US edition.
73 See back cover of 1970 Indonesian edition, published by PT Badan Penerbit Indonesia Raya.
74 Jassin 1984: 319, in a letter to Nh. Dini, dated 26 January 1971.
75 *Catatan Subversif*, p. 144, dated December 1958.
76 Johns, in his Introduction to *Road With No End*, 1982, p. 13, compares Mochtar Lubis with South African writer Ezekiel Mphahlele. The *Times of Ceylon* newspaper suggested the problems described in *Twilight in Jakarta* apply equally in Ceylon (Chambert-Loir 1974: 155).
77 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 302, dated 13 June 1964.
78 *Catatan Subversif* 1980, pp. 48, 64, 71, 90, 108, 134, 156, 212, 240, 270, 291, 439.
79 Johns' Introduction to *Road With No End*, 1982, p. 11.
80 Rohan Rivett 'Corruption Denounced – from a prison cell', *IPI Report* Vol. 12, No. 2, June 1963, p. 16. Johns also states the novel was 'written while [Mochtar] was in prison' (p. 3 of his Introduction to *A Road With No End*, 1982).
81 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981.
82 Confidential interview with a detainee, 27 September 1982.
83 Interview with Ivan Kats, Jakarta, 12 April 1982.
84 Confidential interview with a detainee, 24 February 1981.
85 The document was composed by opponents of LEKRA to assert their separate identity, rejecting what they saw as the tendency to subsume art in politics. Keith Foulcher (1969) 'A Survey of Events Surrounding "Manikebu" ', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, Deel 125, 4e Afl., pp. 429–65, reproduces the Manifesto and related documents in both Indonesian and English translation (pp. 453–65).

Horison (May 1967, II, No. 5) published excerpts of the diaries of two signatories, notes on the manifesto and descriptions of the atmosphere at the time. Goenawan Mohamad (1988) *The Cultural Manifesto' Affair: Literature And Politics In Indonesia In The 1960s: A Signatory's View*, CSEAS, Monash University, Clayton, Australia, provides a thoughtful reflection upon the event, a quarter of a century later.

86 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 298, dated 15 May 1964.

87 Jassin, a target of antimanifesto protests, was moved from his lectureship at the University of Indonesia to a research position, and *Sastra* magazine, which had published the manifesto, ceased for 'technical reasons' (Foulcher 1986: 126–27). Wiratmo Soekito ('Mengapa Sebuah Pseudomanifes', *Horison*, November 1987, pp. 380–81) refutes the widely held belief that signatories were sacked from government positions; they were moved to less prominent posts on full salary.

88 'Instruksi Dep. P.D. dan K.: Buku ini Dilarang!!!', *Bintang Timur*, 19 September 1965.

89 Rosihan Anwar 1981: 528, dated 14 August 1965.

90 Cf *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 298, dated on 13 May 1964 with 'Instruksi Dep. P.D. dan K.: Buku ini Dilarang!!!', *Bintang Timur*, 19 September 1965. For reasons Mochtar was unable to recall when interviewed in 1981, *Tanah Gersang* (Pembangunan, Jakarta) bears the copyright date of 1959 and the publication date of 1964.

91 Teeuw 1967: 198.

92 Mochtar Lubis to Halimah Lubis, dated 29 November 1962. Obtained from, and quotation with permission of, Indrawan Lubis.

93 Interview with Arman Lubis, 1 August 2006.

94 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 220.

95 Mochtar Lubis to Halimah Lubis, dated 20 March 1963. Obtained from, and quotation with permission of, Indrawan Lubis.

96 Rohan Rivett's correspondence with (and concerning) Mochtar Lubis is available in the National Library of Australia, 'MS 8049: Papers of Rohan Rivett (1917–77), Series 7'. Quotation from Mochtar Lubis's letter to Rohan Rivett, dated 23 July 1965 (with permission of Indrawan Lubis).

97 Hally's concern regarding censorship is indicated in a letter to Rivett dated 5 September 1965.

98 Interview with Arman Lubis, Jakarta 1 August 2006. Palmer headed the powerful American Motion Picture Association in Indonesia (AMPAI) (Krishna Sen (1994) *Indonesian Cinema: Framing the New Order*, Zed Books, London, pp. 24–35).

99 Comments on family life are drawn from an interview with Indrawan ('Iwan') Lubis, 16 July 2006. Iwan continued his schooling at High School in Bandung from 1963, staying with a maternal uncle.

100 Mochtar Lubis to Rohan Rivett, 14 March 1966.

101 Shann's letters are in the National Library of Australia, 'MS 8049: Papers of Rohan Rivett (1917–77), Series 7'.

102 These included *Rumah kecil di padang yang luas* [Little House on the Prairie], *Rumah kecil di hutan raya* [Little House in the Big Woods] in 1960, *Anak tani* [Farmer boy], *Di tepi pantai Silver Lake* [By the shores of Silver Lake] in 1961, and *Musim dingin yang lama* [The Long Winter] in 1962, all published by Penerbit Masa, Jakarta (Chambert-Loir 1974: 244–45). Mochtar also used the pseudonym 'Savitri'.

103 These included, in *Siasat Baru*, 'Jibaku Tai', 13, No. 608, 4 February 1959, pp. 19–21; 'Castanas Calientes', 13, No. 613, 11 March 1959, pp. 14–16; 'Si Jamal' (an abridged version of 'Nasionalis Nomor Satu', which subsequently appeared in *Kuli Kontrak*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1982, pp. 144–64.), 13, No. 631, 15 July 1959, pp. 19–21; 'Si anak pulang ', 13, No. 647, 4 November 1959, pp. 25–27; and 'Bayinya kulitnya hitam', *Indonesia*, January–February 1960, XI, No. 1.

104 He smuggled the handwritten notes out (*Catatan Subversif* 1980: 396, dated 3 November 1965).

5 The 'golden boy of the New Order'

1 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 442 dated 26 February 1966.
2 Mochtar Lubis to Rohan Rivett, 14 March 1966, forwarded to Rivett by Australian Ambassador K.C.O. Shann, and held in the National Library of Australia, 'MS 8049: Papers of Rohan Rivett (1917–77), Series 7'.
3 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 464–65.
4 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 451, dated 12 March 1966, and p. 471, dated 10 April 1996.
5 On the founding of KAMI and the events of the months after October 1965, see Crouch 1978: 135–220, especially, pp. 165–66 & 184–85, and Donald Hindley (1970) 'Alirans and the Fall of the Old Order', *Indonesia* (Cornell), No. 9, April, pp. 23–66, especially, p. 45. KAMI had been officially banned in February, but it continued to operate, subsumed within a new body, the Laskar Arief Rahman Hakim [A.R.H. Militia], and in concert with KAPPI. In his diary, Mochtar continued to use the term 'KAMI'. His second son was in KAPPI.
6 Crouch 1978: 180–81.
7 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 477, dated 17 April 1966.
8 For foreign press response, see, e.g. 'Foes of Sukarno to gain freedom', *The New York Times*, 17 April 1966, p. 3.
9 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 500, dated 17 May 1966.
10 Mochtar Lubis to Rohan Rivett, 27 June 1966, National Library of Australia.
11 See Daniel Dhakidae (1983) 'Soe Hok Gie Sang Demonstran', (pp. 6–76; particularly pp. 42–43) in Soe Hok Gie (1983) *Catatan Seorang Demonstran*, LP3ES, Jakarta.
12 Interview with Jopie Lasut, 23 August 1982.
13 Daniel Dhakidae 1983: 42–43.
14 Organisationally, the GPI disbanded some time after Sumitro entered cabinet in June 1968. Till at least December 1969, Mochtar continued to mediate informally between Sumitro and young members of the group like Soe Hok Gie, who were disappointed with Sumitro's leadership. (Soe Hok Gie 1983: 444, entry dated 2 December 1969. In the published version, capital letters replace the manuscript's personal names. 'D' is Mochtar Lubis; 'S' is Sumitro.)
15 'Saya Protes Keras' (interview with Kemala Atmojo) (pp. 168–91) in Ramadhan K.H. (1995) (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis Bicara Lurus: Menjawab Pertanyaan Wartawan*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta. Quotation from p. 177.
16 Amir Effendi Siregar (1983) *Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia: Patah Tumbuh Hilang Berganti*, Karya Unipress, Jakarta, pp. 46–52 and pp. 60–90. For a detailed study of *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, see François Raillon (1984), *Les étudiants indonésiens et l'Ordre Nouveau: politique et idéologie du Mahasiswa Indonesia (1966–1974)*, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris., translated as *Politik dan Ideologi Mahasiswa Indonesia: Pembentukan dan Konsolidasi Orde Baru, 1966–1974*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1985 (from which subsequent references come). The paper referred to subsequently as *Mahasiswa Indonesia* is technically *Mahasiswa Indonesia* (West Java Edition). For a short time there was a parallel Jakarta paper called *Mahasiswa Indonesia* (Central Edition) (Raillon 1985: 32–33).
17 Raillon 1985: 7, fn 5.
18 Raillon 1985: 46–47.
19 Interview with Mochtar Lubis 12 January 1982. The position was subsequently filled by B.M. Diah on 25 July 1966.
20 Mochtar Lubis, 'PKI Musuh Utama Orde Baru', *Harian KAMI*, 3 September 1966, from where material in this paragraph is primarily drawn.
21 See also Crouch 1978: 249.
22 'Dukungan Untuk Mochtar Lubis mengalir', *Harian KAMI*, 7 September 1966.
23 Chambert-Loir 1974: 54, and various interviews.

24 Chambert-Loir 1974: 53.
25 Crouch 1978: 218. Sukarno was effectively under house arrest till his death in 1970.
26 Herbert Feith (1968) 'Suharto's Search for a Political Format', *Indonesia* (Cornell), No. 6, October, pp. 88–105, particularly pp. 94–95.
27 Liddle 1973: 196 and Feith 1968: 93.
28 Mochtar Lubis, 'PKI Musuh Utama Orde Baru', *Harian KAMI*, 3 September 1966.
29 Crouch 1978: 242.
30 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 489, dated 29 April 1966.
31 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
32 John J. MacDougall (1976) 'The Technocratic Model of Modernization: The Case of Indonesia's New Order', *Asian Survey*, December, pp. 1166–83.
33 Crouch 1978: 236 and 252 and Liddle 1973: 192–96.
34 Crouch 1978: 236.
35 'Indonesia Harus Kembali Pada Demokrasi Sipil', *Sinar Harapan*, 25 March 1969.
36 Interview wih Mochtar Lubis, 24 September 1981.
37 See *IPI Report*, June 1966, p. 1 and December 1966, p. 9.
38 According to Suharto's 31 December 1966 New Year's message, quoted in Leifer 1983: 117 (who cites *Government Report to the People*, Department of Information, Jakarta, 1967, p. 18).
39 'Launched: Press Foundation of Asia', *IPI Report*, November 1967, p. 3. On the PFA, see S.M. Ali (1978) 'DEPTHnews: A Model for a Third World Feature Agency' (pp. 187–96) in Philip C. Horton (ed) (1978) *The Third World and Press Freedom*, Praeger Publishers, New York.
40 Details on the PFA from http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/Biography/BiographyPFA.htm, sighted 16 August 2007.
41 Tim Weiner (2008) *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA*, Anchor, New York quotes former CIA agent in Jakarta Clyde McAvoy (in a 2005 interview) saying 'I recruited and ran Adam Malik' (p. 299). Weiner also quotes a 2 December 1965 cable from US Ambassador Marshall Green to Bill Bundy (US assistant secretary of state for the Far East, CIA analyst, and brother of national security adviser McGeorge Bundy) stating 'This is to confirm my earlier concurrence that we provide Malik with fifty million rupiahs [roughly $10,000] for the activities of the Kap-Gestapu movement' (p. 300 with source details in note on p. 712). The book created a furore when published in Indonesian translation. McAvoy's claim was unequivocally denied by Malik's family and supporters, with Malik's eldest son Otto, declaring it 'a lie and absurd act of malicious slander' (quoted in 'Adam Malik's son rejects allegation in Weiner's book', *Antara*, 12 December 2008 at http://www.antara.co.id/en/arc/2008/12/13/adam-maliks-son-rejects-allegation-in-weiners-book/, sighted 2 May 2009). For general rebuttals of the claim, see e.g. Hendri Firzani (2008) 'Mantan Wakil Presiden Adam Malik Agen CIA?', *Gatra*, 3 December, pp. 94–95; and the series of comments by public figures at http://www.indonesiamatters.com/3223/adam-malik/ and 'Adam Malik Dituding Agen CIA', http://www.liputan6.com/news/?id=168705&c_id=1 (both sighted 2 April 2009).
42 While the full extent of Adam Malik's support is unknown, he certainly gave *Indonesia Raya* ministerial permission to import printing equipment donated by IPI members in the Philippines and Australia, the receipt of which may have contravened regulations prohibiting Indonesian papers from accepting foreign assistance (*IPI Report*, Oct.–Nov. 1968, Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 4 and Chambert-Loir 1974: 96). This was acknowledged in 'Sepatah Kata Dari Penerbit', *Indonesia Raya*, 30 November 1968, p. 5. Curiously, *Indonesia Raya* balance sheets for 3 January 1969 (viewed in the *Indonesia Raya* offices at Suprapto Rd in 1981–82) showed a debt of Rp 500,000 [then approximately $US 1,700] owed to the initials 'A.M.'; no further details are provided.

43 Soe Hok Gie 1983: 350 notes Louis Lasut provided funds to *Indonesia Raya*. Lasut, who had worked for Sumitro Djojohadikusumo since the early 1950s, was a senior employee of Indoconsult Associates, a business consultancy firm established jointly by Sumitro and Mochtar Lubis. He was also involved in setting up PT Air Murni, with Mochtar and Sumitro's father, Margono Djojohadikusumo, on the board of directors. After *Indonesia Raya* was banned, Lasut took Mochtar to court to recoup earlier loans. In addition, during October to November 1968 and January 1969 the paper's accounts list monthly debts amounting to approximately Rp. 3 million (equivalent to approximately $US 10,000 at prevailing exchange rates), entered almost entirely as 'Received from' either 'Mochtar Lubis', 'Mochtar L.', 'M.L.', or left blank.
44 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 500, dated 17 May 1966.
45 For a discussion of the major business groups of this period, see Richard Robison (1977) *Capitalism and the Bureaucratic State in Indonesia: 1965–75*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, pp. 112–46.
46 Adnan Buyung Nasution (with Ramadhan KH and Nina Pane) (2004) *Pergulatan Tanpa Henti: Dirumahkan Soekarno, Dipecat Soeharto*, Aksara Karunia, Jakarta, p. 206.
47 Adnan Buyung Nasution 2004: 208.
48 Iwan declined a job offer at the down-market *Pos Kota* from Harmoko, who went on to become the New Order's longest serving Minister of Information (interview with Iwan Lubis, 16 July 2006).
49 Mochtar and his brother Bachtar represented PT Padma Megah National Trading Company, while Ravenholt and compatriot E.C. Geeslin owned the Philippine-American Timber Company. (*Berita Negara R.I. Tambahan Perseroan-Perseroan Terbatas* [hereafter TBN(PT)] 100-1968, dated 16 August 1968.)
50 On the Ravenholts, see various documents on the Ravenholt Family Tree website, http://www.ravenholt.com/familytree/ravenholt.htm (sighted 26 October 2006), particularly 'Albert V. Ravenholt, photos and biography', 'Magsaysay Still a Filipino Hero – Chicago Daily News, *March 18, 1959*'; and 'Marjorie Sevryns Ravenholt'.
51 TBN(PT), 229-1971. On Fowler, see http://www.au.af.mil/au/goe/eaglebios/99bios/fowler99.htm, sighted 26 October 2006.
52 TBN(PT) 229-1971 and 153-1973. Airfast's current website is: http://www.airfastindonesia.com/companyprofile.htm (sighted 26 October 2006). Frank Reuneker, the current President Director, apparently owns 75 per cent of the shareholding (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Airfast_Indonesia, sighted 26 October 2006).
53 TBN(PT), 389-1972. On PT Fortune Indonesia Advertising and its transnational connections, see Michael H. Anderson (1979a) *The Madison Avenue Connection: A Study of Transnational Advertising and Political Development in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*, PhD thesis, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, pp. 199–200, 234 and 255, and also his 'Transnational Advertising in Indonesia', Paper at Eighth Annual Conference on Indonesian Studies, University of California, Berkeley (1979b), pp. 5, 16, 21–22, & 30. PT Fortune Indonesia's current website is http://www.fortuneindo.com/fortune2005/investor.php, sighted 27 November 2006.
54 Charles Kenneth Landell-Jones (1916–96) was one of the pioneers of advertising in Australia, establishing Fortune Advertising in 1946 and building it up until, when sold in 1983, it was the largest, wholly-Australian-owned advertising agency.
55 Two notable examples were: (1) the Condong plantation case (see *Sinar Harapan*, 8 September 1969). PT Air Murni of which Mochtar Lubis was a Board member, was in a dispute over the ownership of the Condong plantation. Though legally independent, PT Air Murni shared similar personnel to Indoconsult. Mochtar's position appears to have been made more difficult, because PT Condong was financing *Indonesia Raya*, through input from Louis Lasut, who was involved in both Indoconsult and Air Murni

(Soe Hok Gie 1983: 350); (2) the Pinder case (see *Kompas* 29–30 May 1975). When brought to court in Singapore in 1975 accused of misappropriating company funds, D.W. Pinder, former Senior Director of the Sime Darby group of companies, claimed that he had used some of that money to pay bribes to obtain the Caterpillar concessions in Indonesia. After Indoconsult's name was mentioned, Mochtar publicly denied any knowledge of the case, stressing that he 'did not receive bribes and has never given advice to any party (including Sime Darby) to engage in bribery of Indonesians' (*Kompas*, 29 May 1975).

56 *Sinar Harapan*, 18 August 1967 and Chambert-Loir 1974: 57.

57 Chambert-Loir 1974: 57 lists Mochtar's main trips, including, in 1969, around Southeast Asia and Europe, and, in 1971, to America and Paris.

58 Mochtar Lubis co-wrote the scenario, his brother Amzar was managing producer, and the film was produced by Des Alwi's PT Avisarti Corporation. [See *SFF (Sport, Fashion, Film)*, January 1972, No. 4, p. 40.] In 1953, Mochtar had written the story for a film *Nelayan* [Fisherman], directed by Indonesia's first female director, Ratna Asmara, and produced by a company Mochtar set up with her and Wildan Ja'far. In 1967, his novel *Senja di Jakarta* [Twilight in Jakarta] was filmed by PT Tuti Mutia Film.

59 Atmakusumah 1980: 206, and Tribuana Said & D.S. Moeljanto (1983), *Perlawanan Pers Indonesia (BPS) terhadap Gerakan PKI*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, pp. 106–11. For further detail on this period, see David T. Hill (2007) [1994]) *The Press in New Order Indonesia*, Equinox Publishing, Jakarta.

60 *Antara Weekly Review* (Jakarta Bulletin), 30 October 1965, p. 12 and 6 November 1965, and also Soebagijo, Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo & Swantoro 1977: 35–36.

61 Interview with Atmakusumah, then working on the translation desk, 27 April 1981. See also Soebagijo I.N. (1987) *Adinegoro: Pelopor Jurnalistik Indonesia*, CV Haji Masagung, Jakarta, pp. 218–19.

62 Two related permits were required by newspaper publishers: the Permit To Publish [*Surat Izin Terbit*, SIT] authorised by the ostensibly civil Department of Information, and the Permit To Print [*Surat Izin Cetak*, SIC] issued by the military security authority, Kopkamtib. In a record for the years 1965–72 at least, in 1966, 502 SIT were issued nationally by the Information Department, compared to 31 in 1965, and 91 in 1967 (Tribuana Said & Moeljanto 1983: 110–11).

63 'El Bahar' could be from the Arabic 'bahr' meaning the sea, a noble or great man (whose knowledge is comparable to the vastness of the sea); or from 'bahhar' meaning sailor, or crew. (My thanks to Rabin Hardjadibrata for advice with this translation.)

64 Edited by Commodore R.S. Puguh (secretary to the Navy and a nephew of Sukarno) and his assistant, Sjamsu Sutjipto (Head of Information of the Navy), it was supported by the Navy, particularly the KKO [marines], who successfully resisted moves by the Suharto group to curb their independence till the end of 1969. Its tone then moderated after Puguh took up an ambassadorship and the editorial board was reorganised. See Crouch 1978: 239 and Oey Hong Lee (1974) 'Indonesian Freedom of the Press and the 1971 Elections' (pp. 23–36) in Oey Hong Lee (ed.) (1974) *Indonesia after the 1971 Elections*, University of Hull & Oxford University Press, London, particularly, p. 26.

65 'Pers Dan 'Appeal' Pemerintah', *Indonesia Raya*, 20 August 1973, p. 4.

66 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 September 1981.

67 Atmakusumah 1980: 229–30 and 328–29.

68 Roger K. Paget lists 358 publications in 'Indonesian newspapers, 1965–67' and discusses 40 in detail in 'Jakarta Newspapers, 1965–67: Preliminary Comments', *Indonesia* (Cornell), No. 4, October 1967 (pp. 170–210 and pp. 211–26, cited as Paget 1967a and 1967b respectively). Although the following overview deals with a later period, Paget 1967b gives further details on 11 of these papers.

69 *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, the influential Bandung student weekly, could be group with this cluster.

70 The commencement date of the paper is given in parentheses.
71 Oey 1971: 158–59. *Suara Karya* [Labour Voice], (March 1971) established as the organ of the government political organisation, Golkar, fitted into this category later.
72 *El Bahar* fluctuated between appearing daily, bi-weekly and weekly. See Robert Crawford (1971) 'Indonesia' (pp. 158–78) in John A. Lent (ed) (1971) *The Asian Newspapers' Reluctant Revolution*, Iowa State University Press, Iowa, particularly, p. 175.
73 Oey 1974: 26 and Tribuana Said & Moeljanto 1983: 106 & 110.
74 Crawford 1971: 173.
75 Atmakusumah 1980: 232 cites *Kritis Mengupas Suratkabar*, Cipta Loka Caraka, Badan Lektur Pembinaan Mental, Jakarta, 1970, pp. 69–70. These figures appear to be based on print runs rather than sales, and may be considerably inflated. For example, in-house data on *Indonesia Raya*'s total monthly sales, reduced to a daily average, give the much lower figure of 31,261 for 1970 (Atmakusumah interview, 26 March 1981).
76 *Indonesia Raya*, 30 October 1968, p. 3.
77 On the re-establishment of *Indonesia Raya*, see Chambert-Loir 1974: 96–97; and Ignatius Haryanto (2006) *Indonesia Raya di Bredel*, LKiS, Yogyakarta.
78 Atmakusumah 1980: 228. Legal agreement on 15 October 1970 terminated reciprocal civil actions by Mochtar Lubis and Hasjim Mahdan, initiated after their split in 1958.
79 Interviews with Atmakusumah 26 March 1981, Mochtar Lubis 16 February 1981, and other staff.
80 *Indonesia Raya*'s daily sales figures (averaged over a month) were: 22,214 (1969), 31,261 (1970), 26,035 (1971), 23,281 (1972), 19,830 (January–May 1973, prior to moving to off-set printing which raised circulation), 41,000 (January 1974, when the paper was banned). (Atmakusumah interview 26 March 1981.] Chambert-Loir 1974: 102 notes in 1972, *Indonesia Raya* ranked eighth amongst Jakarta's twenty odd dailies, behind *Kompas* (110,000), the Chinese language *Harian Indonesia* (100,000), *Pos Kota, Suara Karya, Sinar Harapan* (60,000), *Berita Buana* (45,000) and *Merdeka* (30,000) but before *Abadi, Harian KAMI, Pedoman* and *Nusantara*. With a peak circulation of 41,000 in January 1974 prior to banning, it never equalled the 1950s high-water mark of 47,500.
81 For example, about 1973 a senior Garuda Airlines official privately told a friend on the staff that he had been directed to not advertise in *Indonesia Raya* (interview with Atmakusumah 26 March 1981).
82 Interview with Atmakusumah, 26 March 1981.
83 Quoted in Christianto Wibisono, 'Come back or Advent?', *Indonesia Raya*, 30 December 1969. On Goenawan Mohamad and *Tempo*, see Janet Steele (2005) *Wars Within: The Story of* ***Tempo****, an independent magazine in Soeharto's Indonesia*, Equinox-ISEAS, Jakarta & Singapore.
84 Interview with Arief Budiman, 31 December 1980.
85 Christianto Wibisono, 'Come back or Advent?', *Indonesia Raya*, 30 December 1969.
86 Various interviews, including Atmakusumah (26 March 1981), D.H. Assegaff (2 October 1981), Jus Soemadipradja (29 September 1981) and Kustiniyati Mochtar (16 June 1981).
87 'Contoh-contoh pelacuran intelektuil di zaman resim Soekarno', *Indonesia Raya*, 14–18 April 1969.
88 E.g. *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, 27 April 1969 and 4 May 1969. See also Raillon 1985: 184–86.
89 Such was the assumption in 'Muchtar [sic] Lubis dan 'Pelatjuran Intelektuil'nja Wira', *Tjaraka*, No. 116, III, May 1969, p. 25.
90 'Dunia Pers Menyorot: Soal Pelacuran Intelektuil', *Mahasiswa Indonesia*, 27 April 1969, pp. 1 & 7 surveys the press response to the articles.

91 The published diary, Soe Hok Gie 1983: 286, dated 24 April 1969, mentions only 'the wife of a senior government official'. However, the hand-written manuscript specifies Mrs Suharto.
92 Soe Hok Gie 1983: 350, dated 3 July 1969. On Suhardiman and Berdikari, see Harold Crouch (1975) 'Generals and Business in Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 4, Winter 1975–76, (pp. 519–40), particularly p. 528, and Richard Robison (1986) *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*, ASAA-Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 252 & 361.
93 Soe Hok Gie 1983: 283–84. For Mochtar's editorial on the films' 'indirect propaganda effect for the Soviet Union', see 'Pekan Filem Uni Soviet', *Indonesia Raya*, 15 April 69, p. 2.
94 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 498.
95 Soe Hok Gie 1983: 386
96 'Pembunuhan Massal di Purwodadi, Jawa Tengah', *Indonesia Raya*, 28 February 1969, p. 1 and May 1978: 206; May 1978: 205–9; and interview with Princen, 1 September 1982, when he said the death toll was at least 767, though confirmation was impossible.
97 'Pers dapat Kwalahan [sic]', *Indonesia Raya*, 1 March 1969.
98 See *Indonesia Raya*'s editorials 6 & 7 March 1969 and 'Sebaiknya dibentuk Panitia Yang Netral', 11 March 1969, p. 1.
99 The seven-part series, 'Laporan dari Daerah Maut Purwodadi', ran from 10 to 17 March 1969.
100 'President Terima Laporan Dari Menteri Budiardjo', 18 March 1969, p. 1, and 'Pembunuhan Massal tidak benar', *Indonesia Raya*, 21 March 1969, p. 1.
101 'Penyelesaian 'Peristiwa Purwodadi", *Indonesia Raya*, 18 March 1969, p. 2.
102 'Pembunuhan Massal Tidak Benar', *Indonesia Raya*, 21 March 1969, p. 1. The headline, 'Mass killings not true', suggests *Indonesia Raya* accepted this judgment.
103 'Cara-cara Lama', *Indonesia Raya*, 24 March 1969, p. 2.
104 On balance, Princen was satisfied with *Indonesia Raya* coverage of the issue (interview, 1 September 1982).
105 Arief Budiman, 'Bersama Ali Murtopo, Air Mata Saya Berlinang', *Sinar Harapan*, 26 October 1971.
106 May 1978: 27–40 described his visit in 1969 and that of Dom Moraes of *Asia Magazine* and Errol Hodge of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1971. All were deeply moved by the deprivation of the prisoners. Hamish McDonald [(1980), *Suharto's Indonesia*, Fontana, Blackburn, pp 216–31], who visited in 1977, includes an extensive account by Pramoedya Ananta Toer of the sickness, hunger and 'beatings [which] kept coming beyond reason'. For Pramoedya's account of Mochtar's visit to Buru, including his transcription of their conversation, see *The Mute's Soliloquy: a memoir*, translated by Willem Samuels, Hyperion East, New York, 1999, pp. 57–62. Other accounts by ex-*tapol* include Teguh [1981] *Catatan di Sela-sela Intaian*, Yayasan Langer, Limburg, pp. 16–29.
107 'Ke Pulau Buru' (Part 1), *Indonesia Raya*, 18 October 1973, p. 1. Journalists on the tour included Rosihan Anwar, Jakob Oetama and others from the *Sinar Harapan, Merdeka, Suara Karya, Angkatan Bersenjata* and *Berita Yudha*. The five part series, entitled 'Ke Pulau Buru' [To Buru Island], ran 18–23 October 1973.
108 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 17 March 1982.
109 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 496, dated 4 May 1966.
110 Abdul Rachman Saleh [1976] 'The Press and the Lembaga Bantuan Hukum', in LBH [1976] *Legal Aid in Indonesia* (*Five Years of the Lembaga Bantuan Hukum*), LBH, Jakarta, p. 47.
111 For example, in 1978, following Amnesty International's 1977 Report on Indonesia, Mochtar wrote to Amnesty, 'expressing concern that the organization … was now being used by Communist groups and devoting all its attention to PKI prisoners in Indonesia' (according to a letter from Amnesty International, London, 26 June 1986).

112 'Angkatan Bersenjata RI. Tahun Ke-28', *Indonesia Raya*, 6 October 1973, p. 2 editorial.
113 Crouch 1978: 241–43.
114 Bruce Glassburner (1976) 'In the Wake of General Ibnu: Crisis in the Indonesian Oil Industry', *Asian Survey*, Dec., Vol. XVI, No. 12, pp. 1099–1112; Crouch 1975: 524–27; and McDonald 1980: 143–65.
115 Soe Hok Gie 1983: 185–86.
116 Ibnu Sutowo actually headed Permina, but this was merged in 1968 with another state oil concern, Pertamin, to become Pertamina.
117 Glassburner 1976: 1100 & 1105–6.
118 J.A.C. Mackie (1970) 'The Commission of Four Report on Corruption', *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, November, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 87–101 (quotation p. 92).
119 Glassburner 1976: 1106.
120 Raillon 1985: 265–69 and Oey 1974: 29.
121 *Indonesia Raya* later praised Boediardjo for the restraint with which he exercised his prerogative to ban papers. 'Penghargaan Pada Budiardjo', *Indonesia Raya* (editorial), 30 March 1973, p. 2. Oey 1974: 28–31 notes examples of government actions against the press during this period.
122 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 March 1981.
123 'Suara Rekan Tentang Muchtar [sic] Lubis', *Angkatan Bersenjata*, 31 December 1969.
124 Christianto Wibisono, 'Come Back atau Advent', (Part 2) *Indonesia Raya*, 31 December 1969 examines the press response to *Indonesia Raya*'s Pertamina campaign. Supportive editorials include 'I.R.[sic] dan Pertamina', *Kompas*, 27 December 1969.
125 'Sebuah Pesan Pada Penyebar-penyebar Fitnah', *Indonesia Raya*, 20 January 1979, p. 1.
126 'Lagi Skandal Sex Pecah Di Yogya', *Indonesia Raya*, 18 January 1971, p. 1. *Indonesia Raya*'s tradition of 'yellow journalism' from the 1950s was continued in the 1970s with articles like this. 'Mochtar Lubis 'Indon.[sic] Raya' mencoba memeras Pimpinan Pertamina?', *Merdeka*, 20 January 1971.
127 Mochtar acknowledged Indoconsult submitted an offer, but denied any link with the *Indonesia Raya* articles. '*Indonesia Raya* Adukan B.M. Diah Ke Pengadilan', *Indonesia Raya*, 21 January 1971 and reprinted in *Merdeka* 23 January 1971.
128 Mochtar won his case against Diah, and Diah's subsequent appeal against the Rp. 1 million fine. *Indonesia Raya* apologised publicly to Diah for the 'sex scandal' article.
129 *Indonesia Raya*, 2 January 1970. See Crouch 1978: 289–90.
130 Crouch 1978: 294–97 and Raillon 1985: 79–81.
131 Interview with Arief Budiman, 23 August 1981. *Sinar Harapan* ran the report between 18 and 24 July 1970.
132 Mackie 1970: 93.
133 Glassburner 1976: 1103.
134 Crouch 1978: 295.
135 Rosihan Anwar 1983: 250, citing *Suluh Marhaen*, 5 August 1970.
136 Oey 1974: 30–31.
137 'Parpol-parpol sebaiknya dibubarkan saja', *Sinar Harapan*, 2 May 1968.
138 'Terserah kepada Presiden Soeharto', *Indonesia Raya*, 20 October 1969, p. 3.
139 David Reeve (1985) *Golkar of Indonesia: An alternative to the party system*, Oxford University Press, Singapore; Crouch 1978: 264–72; and Raillon 1985: 85–87.
140 Aspinall 2005: 101.
141 'Mochtar Lubis: Golput Naif', *Sinar Harapan*, 3 June 1971 and interview 13 January 1981.
142 'Mochtar bukan Golkar', *Sinar Harapan*, 5 June 1971.

143 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
144 E.g. D.H. Assegaff, who had been with *Indonesia Raya* since 1955, became editor-in-chief of the Golkar paper, *Suara Karya* some years after leaving *Indonesia Raya* in January 1973.
145 '*Indonesia Raya* dan Pemilihan Umum', Final of a 4-part series, *Indonesia Raya*, 12 June 1971, quoted in Atmakusumah 1980: 245.
146 Samsuddin et al. 1972: 108.
147 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
148 May 1978: 245–71 gives a graphic account of electoral malpractice.
149 'Nyonya-Nyonya Pembesar Yang Bergerak Di Bidang 'Business'', *Indonesia Raya*, 12 July 1973, p. 2.
150 Benny G. Setiono [2002] *Tionghoa dalam Pusaran Politik*, Elkasa, Jakarta, p. 964. In his letter Mochtar opposed the use of the term 'Cina' (rather than Tionghoa) for 'Chinese', arguing it was derogatory.
151 E.g. 'Masalah Pribumi & Non Pribumi', *Indonesia Raya*, 25 May 1973, p. 2.
152 Siauw Giok Tjhan (1981) *Lima Jaman: Perwujudan Integrasi Wajar*, Yayasan Teratai, Amsterdam & Jakarta, p. 388. On the press and *cukong*, see Coppel 1983: 153 & 212, fn.16.
153 E.g. *Indonesia Raya*, 4 November 1972 lists known *cukong*.
154 'Reputasi Jepang tidak baik di Indonesia', *Berita Yudha*, 11 November 1966. Mochtar was also featured in the Japanese press criticising Japanese business. E.g. the interview in the economic weekly *Ekonomisuto* (a Mainichi News publication) on 31 March 1970, pp. 72–75. The *Mahasiswa Indonesia* article is 'Jepang dan kita', 22 October 1967. See also Raillon 1985: 314.
155 E.g. *Tempo*, 19 January 1974, p. 6 and pp. 42–43.
156 'Indonesia Amat Lemah Menghadapi Jepang?', *Indonesia Raya*, 8 January 1974, p. 2 editorial.
157 For a brief history of anti-Chinese outbursts, see J.A.C. Mackie (1976) 'Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Indonesia 1959–68' (pp. 77–138) in J.A.C. Mackie (ed) (1976) *The Chinese in Indonesia: Five Essays*, Nelson-AIIA, Melbourne. During July 1956, *Indonesia Raya* highlighted an incident arising from a traffic accident between an Indonesian Chinese and an indigenous Army officer to criticise the PNI-led government (Feith 1962: 483).
158 Senior Siliwangi officers were reluctant to quell the riots swiftly. Arrested were 19 Siliwangi men and leaders of the civilian Siliwangi Youth Wing (Crouch 1978: 312).
159 Interview with Atmakusumah, 26 March 1981. Atmakusumah 1980: 180 reproduced the front page of the relevant 5 August 1973 edition.
160 The withdrawal of *Indonesia Raya*'s publication permit (SIT) is reproduced in Atmakusumah 1980: 334–36.
161 Photo published in *Minggu Indonesia Raya*, 30 September 1973. The mildly-worded warning was included in a 2 October 1973 letter from Drs T. Atmadi, Director of the Press Development Directorate, Department of Information.
162 Interview with Atmakusumah, 26 March 1981.
163 Allan A. Samson (1974) 'Indonesia 1973: A Climate of Concern', *Asian Survey*, February Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 157–65, (quotation p. 157).
164 Kerry Groves [1978] *The Press under Indonesia's 'New Order'*, Honours thesis, Asian Civilisations, Australian National University, Canberra, p. 35, examined editorials on 'development' topics by leading Indonesian newspapers banned in January 1974. He also notes (p. 27) that, of the three papers mentioned, *Indonesia Raya* had the highest percentage of editorials on 'political' issues (37.9%) and least on 'development' issues (13.7 per cent), but featured a comparatively high percentage (6.8 per cent) on 'bureaucracy' (including corruption and inefficiency).

165 Editorials on these issues include 'Ulangtahun Ke-7 Supersemar', 10 March 1973, p. 4, and 'Hidup Sederhana', 21 March 1973, p. 4.
166 Atmakusumah 1980: 236. On *Indonesia Raya* during the year prior to January 1974, see Hill, 1987a.
167 'Laporan Presiden Kepada MPR', *Indonesia Raya*, 13 March 1973, p. 4.
168 'Sudah Sepantasnya Kita Menerima Kritik-Kritik Dari Generasi Muda', *Indonesia Raya*, 19 October 1973, p. 2 editorial.
169 'Revolusi di Negeri Pagoda' (4 parts), *Indonesia Raya*, 1–5 November 1973.
170 Crouch 1978: 304–5. An example of *Indonesia Raya*'s coverage of this view, see 'Nasution Kecam Hidup Mewah Pemimpin-pemimpin TNI', *Indonesia Raya*, 17 May 1973, p. 1.
171 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.
172 'Jend. Sumitro Di Yogya: Pola Kepemimpinan Baru Akan Terasa 1 April 1974', *Indonesia Raya*, 16 November 1973, p. 1.
173 See 'Perbedaan Kelas Masyarakat Makin Bertambah Hebat' and 'Diskusi Diakhiri Dengan Ikrar', *Indonesia Raya*, 1 December 1973, p.I and VII for the text. After his arrest in February 1975 Mochtar was interrogated on his role as seminar moderator and signatory to this petition. See Mochtar Lubis (1979) *Kampdagboek* [Camp Diary], (translated by Cees van Dijk and Rob Nieuwenhuys) A.W. Sijthoff, Alphen aan den Rijn, p. 121.
174 Crouch 1978: 315. On the development ideology of the student critics, see James W. Schiller (1978) *Development Ideology in New Order Indonesia: The Soeharto Regime and its Critics*, M.A. thesis, Ohio University, Chapter 2.
175 Confidential discussions with student activists in the 1973–74 movement, 1981–82. Informants mentioned a public lecture on the economy at the University of Indonesia's Salemba campus by Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti as an instance when criticisms of the Japanese were given undue prominence in the *Indonesia Raya* report, 'Tak Mungkin Dan Tak Guna Kejar Ketinggalan' (8 November 1973).
176 For further details, see Harold Crouch (1974) 'The "15th January Affair" in Indonesia', *Dyason House Papers*, Vol. 1, No. 1, August, pp. 1–5. Crouch (p. 5, footnote 11) notes that *Indonesia Raya* hinted at the involvement of Ali Murtopo in its 'corner column', 16 January 1974 and 18 January 1974. Marzuki Arifin (1974) *Peristiwa 15 Januari 1974*, Publishing House Indonesia, Jakarta, gives an extensive, somewhat imaginative, account of the disturbances, from the Ali Murtopo view.
177 In this official total, cited in McDonald 1980: 138, university students comprised only 14 of those arrested, while over half were labourers. Adnan Buyung Nasution describes his imprisonment in his autobiography *Pergulatan Tanpa Henti: Dirumahkan Soekarno, Dipecat Soeharto*, Aksara Karunia, Jakarta 2004 (written with the assistance of Ramadhan KH and Nina Pane).
178 According to Information Minister Mashuri's figures till 24 January, cited in Atmakusumah (1981) *Kebebasan Pers dan Arus Informasi di Indonesia*, Lembaga Studi Pembangunan, Jakarta, p. 123. Atmakusumah 1980: 247–53 gives a detailed chronology of actions against the press after Malari.
179 The rescission documents relating to *Indonesia Raya*'s permits (SIC and SIT) are reproduced in Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo 1980: 332–36.
180 Edward Aspinall (2005) *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, p. 26.
181 In the final edition of *Indonesia Raya* (21 January 1974), Enggak Bahau'ddin even titled his weekly commentary column 'Pemerintah Harus Melakukan Introspeksi' [The Government has to be introspective].
182 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981. He could not recall the exact date, but it would appear to be 16 January.

183 I have sighted copies of two such Information Department clearance letters, stamped 'secret'. One, dated 9 December 1975, concerned the employment of an ex-*Indonesia Raya* journalist by an entertainment magazine. 'Clearance' [the English term is used] was given 'on provision that he is not permitted to hold a leadership position'. Although no informant had actually sighted the infamous Information Department 'black list', they were convinced it existed.
184 Released on 7 May 1975, he died on 1 September 1976 of leukaemia, which colleagues believe was exacerbated by poor detention facilities.
185 Nirbaya 2008: 2, Kampdagboek 1979: 29. Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.
186 He had been writing in *Solidarity* since 1966 and was listed as contributing editor for *Newsweek*'s international edition from 7 May 1973 to 2 February 1976 (although inactive during his detention).
187 Kustiniyati Mochtar was questioned by military police and the South Jakarta State Prosecutor's Office, from February till May 1975 but not detained (Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo 1980: 253). Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.
188 My inquiries indicate the meeting as reported by Subroto never took place and the document (a copy of which I have in my possession) was fabricated. Atmakusumah publicly denied that Subroto Danusaputro had ever worked as an *Indonesia Raya* correspondent, and asserted that his allegations about the secret meeting 'make absolutely no sense' (Atmakusumah's letter to the editor, *Kompas*, 6 April 1976).On the fate of Hariman Siregar and Syahrir, see 'Berakhirnya Bebas Bersyarat', *Tempo*, 23 May 1987.
189 Interviews with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981 and 12 January 1982.

6 Cultural broker under the New Order

1 Mochtar had a strong interest in film. In 1967, for example, *Twilight in Jakarta* was filmed, although he was not directly involved and was dissatisfied with the result. In 1971, he co-authored (with director Bugel Supardi) the scenario for *Tanah Gersang* [Barren Land] and spent a week with the crew during filming around Lake Toba, in north Sumatra, although when premiered in August 1972, it was panned with unflattering reviews declaring 'Barren Land is really barren!' (*SFF* (*Sport Fashion Film*), September 1972, Vol. 1 No. 17, pp. 16–17, cf *Vista*, Vol. 3, No. 116, 7 August 1972, pp. 40–41). Such cinematic failures took little shine from his reputation.
2 Arief Budiman, who had returned recently from a year's college in Europe on scholarship arranged by Ivan Kats, recalled these early meetings with Mochtar in 'Catatan Kecil, delapan belas tahun yang lalu. …', *Horison*, July 1984, pp. 267–68.
3 Henri Chambert-Loir (1972) 'Horison: Six annees d'une revue litteraire Indonesienne', *Archipel*, Vol. 4, pp. 81–90, and E.M.J. Hume (1968) *The Reaction in Indonesian Literature towards the Sukarno Regime with Particular Reference to the literary journal Horison*, B.A. Honours thesis, Department of Indonesian Languages and Literature, Australian National University, Canberra.
4 *Horison*, July 1966, No. 1, p. 3.
5 'Kata Perkenalan' [Introduction], *Horison*, July 1966, No. 1, p. 3.
6 Zaini (1926–77), a painter, was born in Pariaman, West Sumatra. Taufiq Ismail (b. Bukittinggi, 1937), was a poet whose collections *Tirani* and *Benteng* expressed the protests of the 1966 student movement. D.S. Moeljanto (b. Solo, 1933) had edited various magazines, including *Kisah* (1955–57), *Cerita* (1957–58), *Roman* (1955–62) and *Sastra* (1962–64).
7 The third editor, M. Balfas, had taken up a teaching position at the University of Sydney. *Sastra* was revived in 1967, but lasted only two years. After *Sastra* published a short story, 'Langit Makin Mendung' by Kipanjikusmin (August 1968) deemed by

the court 'insulting to religion', the magazine came under considerable pressure from Muslim groups, and Jassin, as editor responsible, received a year's suspended sentence in October 1970. Mochtar actively supported Jassin and arranged for his own solicitor, Mr Abdullah Hafil, to defend him without fee. [Darsjaf Rahman (1986) *Antara Imajinasi dan Hukum: Sebuah Roman Biografi H.B. Jassin*, Gunung Agung, Jakarta, p. 278.]

8 For example, six of the stories in Harry Aveling (ed. & trans.) (1975) *GESTAPU: Indonesian Short Stories on the Abortive Communist Coup of 30th September 1965*, Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, appeared initially in *Horison* (the remaining four in *Sastra*).

9 In addition to *Horison* and *Sastra*, two other magazines gave generous space to fiction in the early New Order period: *Budaya Jaya* [Glorious Culture] and *Basis*. *Budaya Jaya* was a small-circulation intellectual journal produced between 1968–79 by the prestige publishers, Pustaka Jaya, with the financial backing of the Jakarta city council. *Basis*, Indonesia's longest running cultural monthly magazine, has been published by Yogyakarta Catholics since 1950, but it is not primarily a magazine of fiction.

10 Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta, 1977.

11 Jassin 1984: 275, letter to Nh. Dini, dated 28 November 1966.

12 Pamusuk Eneste (1986) *Pengadilan Puisi*, Gunung Agung, Jakarta.

13 Mochtar Lubis, 'Memandang ke depan', *Horison*, June 1993, No. 6, Vol. 27, p. 183.

14 The San Francisco magazine, *Ramparts*, exposed the CIA funding of the CCF as part of a series on covert CIA involvement in student and trade unions, international organisations and foundations.

15 Frances S. Saunders (2000) *The cultural cold war: The CIA and the world of arts and letters,* New Press, New York, p. 394.

16 Saunders 2000: 407.

17 On the relationship between the Ford Foundation, the CCF and American foreign policy interests, see Edward H. Berman (1983) *The Ideology of Philanthropy: The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, State University of New York Press, Albany, especially pp. 143–45.

18 The IACF also selected a new executive director, Shepard Stone, to replace the discredited Josselson. Stone, a friend of Josselson, was director of internal affairs for the Ford Foundation, a former consultant to the State Department and to the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Josselson remained with the IACF as a 'consultant' ('Cultural Group Once Aided by C.I.A. Picks Ford Fund Aide to Be Its Director', *The New York Times*, 2 October 1967, p. 17). For a detailed study of Stone, Ford and the CCF, see Volker R. Berghahn (2001) *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford.

19 Saunders 2000: 242, 419, 426.

20 Saunders 2000: 412.

21 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 16 February 1981.

22 Arief Budiman describes the IACF as *Horison*'s *cukong* (a term usually reserved for wealthy Chinese financiers in league with the Suharto regime) in his *Pengalaman Belajar di Amerika Serikat*, Leppenas, Jakarta, 1982, p. 13. Berghahn 2001: 3000 provides a chart of the IACF affiliated publications and organisations.

23 Berghahn 2001: 141.

24 'A Note from the Editor', *Prisma: The Indonesian Indicator*, No. 29, September 1983, p. 2.

25 *Horison*, II, No. 4 & 5, April & May 1967.

26 A selection of these was published as Mochtar Lubis (1992), *Budaya, Masyarakat dan Manusia Indonesia: Himpunan 'Catatan Kebudayaan' Mochtar Lubis dalam majalah Horison*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.

27 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981. Umar Kayam (b. Ngawi, 1932), a short-story writer with a PhD from Cornell, was Director-General of Radio, TV and Film

(1966–69), then Chairman of the Jakarta Arts Council (1969–72), taking up a position as Director of Indonesian Cultural Studies at Gadjah Mada University in 1977. Fuad Hassan (b. Semarang, 1929), who has a PhD in psychology from the University of Indonesia (1967), became Ambassador to Egypt (1975–80), and Minister of Education in 1986. Mudaham Taufick Zen (b. Bangka, 1931), who became Professor of Geology and Geophysics at Bandung Institute of Technology and Indonesia's Assistant Minister of Research, had a long interest in art and literature.

28 A. Teeuw (1979) *Modern Indonesian Literature*, Volume 2, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, pp. 48–53. In 1983, *Prisma* implied the decline of *Horison* was due partly to an absence of serious debate on such questions as Literature and Social Change in Indonesia 'for over 15 years' (alluding to the banning of LEKRA). ['A Note from the Editor', *Prisma: The Indonesian Indicator*, No. 29, September 1983, p. 2.]

29 See, e.g. Budi Darma, 'Perihal Majalah Horison', *Kompas*, 18 May 1981, p. 5; 'A Note from the Editor', *Prisma: The Indonesian Indicator*, No. 29, September 1983, p. 2; and Yakob Sumarjo (1982) 'Dialektika Sastra Indonesia', *Horison*, No. 12, pp. 393–407, particularly p. 405.

30 Pamusuk Eneste 1986: 21–22.

31 *Horison*, January 1979, XIV, No. 1, p. 3.

32 Arwah Setiawan resigned two years later in April 1984 after the crucial transition period in revamping the magazine (*Horison*, No. 4, April 1984, Table of Contents).

33 *Sinar Harapan* ceased sponsorship when it was banned in October 1986.

34 On the return to literary production of former political prisoners, see Hill 1984.

35 Mochtar Lubis, 'Memandang ke depan', *Horison*, June 1993, No. 6, Vol. XXVII, pp. 183–84.

36 Goenawan Mohamad 'Surat-surat', *Horison*, September–October 1993, No. 9 & 10, Vol. 28, pp. 347–48.

37 Quoted in Zal (1993) 'Mochtar: Biar Miskin, akan Tetap Terbit', *Republika*, 1 September, p. 10.

38 Goenawan Mohamad (1988a) *Peristiwa 'Manikebu': Kesusastraan Indonesia dan Politik di Tahun 1960-an*, inserted into *Tempo*, 21 May 1988 and Goenawan Mohamad (1988b) *The 'Cultural Manifesto' Affair: Literature and Politics in Indonesia in the 1960s: A Signatory's View*, CSEAS, Monash University, Clayton.

39 Cf, e.g. *Kalam* No. 17 (which published Waruno Mahdi, (2001) 'Melancong Ke Dunia Marxisme-Leninisme', pp 55–122, http://www.utankayu.org/in/index.cfm?action=detail&cat=kalam&id=17, sighted 14 December 2006) with *Horison*, No. 9 & 10, September–October 1993 (which featured anti-LEKRA contributions by Taufiq Ismail, Andre Hardjana, Lukman Ali and Ikranagara, including their memoirs of the Cultural Manifesto incident). Waruno Mahdi's CV is at http://w3.rz-berlin.mpg.de/~wm/EGO/cv.html (sighted 20 July 2007).

40 See Ken, ' "Horison" dan Gerakan Sastra di Sekolah', *Kompas*, 15 September 2003.

41 Taufiq Ismail (2006) 'Kata Pengantar: Sastra Diantar Masuk Sekolah dengan Asyik dan Gemuruh', p.xiii in Ati Ismail (comp.) *Mengantar SASTRA ke tengah SISWA: Lima Tahun SBSB di Indonesia*, Horison, Jakarta, 2006.

42 I was surprised in 2006 to discover that one of Indonesia's most energetic young generation literary translators did not recall having ever read *Horison*, let alone ever translated anything published in it, a situation that would have been unthinkable 20 years earlier.

43 The Kunci Cultural Studies Center site is at http://kunci.or.id/main/about.htm, sighted 20 December 2006; Masyarakat Sastra Internet (cybersastra) site is at http://cybersastra.net/home.htm, sighted 20 December 2006

44 On Ali Sadikin's period as Governor, see Abeyasekere 1987: 214–42. His memoirs (as written by Ramadhan K.H.), were published as *Bang Ali: Demi Jakarta* (*1966–1977*) Pustaka Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1992.

45 Under statutory provisions, a representative of the Jakarta Municipal Council is an *ex-officio* member of the DKJ, bringing the membership to 26, according to the official bilingual guidebook, [Ajip Rosidi] (1974) *TIM, Taman Ismail Marzuki, Dewan Kesenian Jakarta*, Jakarta, (hereafter 'Ajip Rosidi 1974'), p. 64. Hence, it is not strictly accurate that all members are artists (Ajip Rosidi 1974: 63). Ali Sadikin's support for the DKJ and related artistic bodies is outlined in Soetjipto Wirosardjono et al. (eds), *Gita Jaya: Catatan H. Ali Sadikin, Gubernur Kepala Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 1966–1977*, Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibu Kota Jakarta, Jakarta, 1977, pp. 207–9. For an overview of the DKJ and related bodies, see Teeuw 1979: 55–58; and Bisri Effendy, 'Institusi Kesenian Jakarta: Semangat Anti Kiri dan Dilema Debirokratisasi', (pp. 675–85) in Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kemasyarakatan dan Kebudayaan LIPI, *Kebijakan Kebudayaan di Masa Orde Baru*, LIPI & Ford Foundation, Jakarta, 2001.
46 Ajip Rosidi 1974: 64–65.
47 Conversation with Goenawan Mohamad, 17 March 1988.
48 Mochtar Lubis (1992) 'Kata Pengantar' (pp. 8–14) in Ramadhan KH 1992.
49 'DKJ yang Ricuh: Uji Keyakinan: Seniman Bisa Berorganisasi', *Kompas*, 28 January 1981, p. 6.
50 Most vocal were a fluid group including Hardi, Ikranegara, Abdul Hadi WM, Dede Eri Supriya, Sutardji Calzoum Bachri, Leon Agusta, and Danarto. Their sympathisers included more established figures from 1966 such as Goenawan Mohamad and Taufiq Ismail. In 1975, Rendra, when accepting an award from the Academy, had expressed his concern about the 'semi-institutionalisation' of its members, which made them resistant to innovation and political action [Rendra (1975) 'Pidato Penerimaan Penghargaan Dari Akademi Jakarta', *Budaya Jaya*, VIII, No. 87, August, pp. 468–76, translated in Rendra 1979: 75–85.]
51 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.
52 Of the original members of the AJ, Mohammad Said died in 1979 and Soedjatmoko resigned because of his duties as Rector of the United Nations University, Tokyo.
53 'Aksi Poster di TIM' and 'DKJ yang Ricuh', both in *Kompas*, 28 January 1981, p. 6 & 9, and 'Anggota Baru DKJ Dikukuhkan', *Kompas*, 26 February 1982, p. 3 for details. Background information given in an interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982. See also 'DKJ Perlu Suasana Tenang untuk Kerja', *Kompas*, 11 December 1985, pp. 1 & 8.
54 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 January 1981.
55 Hardi, 'Akademi Jakarta: Sebuah Potret Totem Yang Muram', *Sinar Harapan*, 2 January 1982, p. 6.
56 Abdul Hadi coined this term. e.g. Abdul Hadi 1987.
57 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.
58 Mochtar was interviewed in 'Tamu Bulan ini', *Dewan Masyarakat* [Kuala Lumpur], 15 January 1982, pp. 32–35. Quotation from p. 33.
59 Obor brochure entitled 'Obor: Purpose', dated February 1982 (hereafter referred to as 1982 Obor prospectus) p. 1.
60 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981.
61 By 1981, the Obor Indonesia committee reflected a greater educational emphasis, incorporating more academics and government figures, such as Taufik Abdullah (from LEKNAS), D.A. Tisna Amijaya (Director of Higher Education), Achmad Amiruddin (Chancellor of Hassanuddin University), Mubyarto (University of Gajah Mada), Sajogyo (Centre for Rural Sociology, IPB), Otto Soemarwoto (Director, Centre for Ecology, Pajajaran University) and retaining M.T. Zen.
62 On PT Astra, see Robison 1986: 277 & 289–96.
63 http://www.obor.or.id/ProfilObor.asp, sighted 27 July 2007, provides a list of organisations with which YOI has worked.

64 Interview with Ivan Kats, Jakarta, 12 April 1982. *Small is Beautiful* was published by Obor in 1979 as *Kecil Itu Indah*, with a preface by M.T. Zen. It sold very well, more than 10,000 copies by the end of 1981. Print runs varied. For specialist titles like T.O. Ihromi's *Adat Perkawinan Toraja* (1981), it was only 1,000, while 5,000 was the norm.
65 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 18 March 1982.
66 1982 *Obor* prospectus, pp. 4–5.
67 Mochtar Lubis and James C. Scott (eds) (1977) *Etika Pegawai Negeri*, Obor & Bhratara Karya Aksara, Jakarta. Scott is author of *Comparative Political Corruption*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1972.
68 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
69 Mochtar Lubis, 'Kata Pengantar: Negara Kaya Harus Mengubah Diri Dahulu' (pp.ix–xxxiii) in Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, *Berakhirnya Masa Kelimpahmewahan*, Sinar Harapan-Obor, Jakarta, 1981. Quotation p.xxxi.
70 'Kata Pengantar: Negara Kaya Harus Mengubah Diri Dahulu' 1981:xxxi–xxxii.
71 'Kata Pengantar: Negara Kaya Harus Mengubah Diri Dahulu' 1981:xxxiii.
72 Published jointly with Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta, 1980. The writing of the manuscript with assisted by funding from the International Wildlife Fund, Geneva and Prince Bernhard of Holland. Mochtar gradually shifted all his titles to Obor, making it the primary publisher for his works. In November 2006, the Obor catalogue offered 12 titles authored by Mochtar Lubis (including all seven novels), with another five texts which he had either edited or written an introduction. See http://www.obor.or.id/, sighted 20 November 2006.
73 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 13 January 1981.
74 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981.
75 Robert Cribb (1988) *The Politics of Environmental Protection in Indonesia*, Monash Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Clayton.
76 In 1976, YOI published a collection of articles on the Indonesian economy by Japanese scholars; the remaining four books (three in 1979 and one in 1981) were by Japanese and about Japan. (Information from 1982 Obor Prospectus and Daftar Buku Yayasan Obor Indonesia, provided by YOI Editor Marianne Katoppo, 15 April 1982.)
77 Sponsored by the Japanese Center for International Exchange, financed by the Japanese J. Kawakami Memorial Trust and the Tokyo East-West Seminar and published by Sinar Harapan and YOI, Jakarta. Original title: *The Silent Power: Japan's Identity and World Role*, edited by Japan Center for International Exchange, The Simul Press, Tokyo, 1976.
78 Copies of the unpublished paper, 'Sebuah Perbandingan: Indonesia dan Jepang, Kontinuitas-Identitas Kebudayaan' [A Comparison: Indonesia and Japan, Cultural Identity-Continuity], were distributed at the lecture, attended by about 300.
79 Obor prospectus, 1982, p. 2.
80 Sulak's webpage is http://www.sulak-sivaraksa.org/en, sighted 21 July 2007. I appreciated help from John Girling (interview, 18 December 1984), Craig Reynolds (correspondence 14 January 1988), and Somsak Jeamteerasakul (interview, 14 April 1988) in appreciating Sulak's role in Thai intellectual life. See also S. Sivaraksa (1985) *Siamese Resurgence: A Thai Buddhist Voice on Asia and a world of Change*, Asian Cultural Forum on Development, Bangkok, and Anderson's Introduction (specifically pp. 25–27) in Benedict R. O'G. Anderson and Ruchira Mendiones (ed. & trans.) (1985) *In the Mirror: Literature and Politics in Siam in the American Era*, Editions Duang Kamol, Bangkok. On IACF affiliation, see Berghahn 2001: 300.
81 Thadeus Flood (1975) 'The Thai Left Wing in Historical Context', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (San Francisco), April–June, pp. 55–67.Quotation from p. 61.
82 Indirect CIA funding of the Asia Foundation was revealed at the time of the CCF revelations in 1967.
83 Anderson and Mendiones 1985: 26.

84 Anderson and Mendiones 1985: 27, citing an article by Nidhi Aeusrivongse (Nithi Tawsiwong) in *Sangkhomsat Parithat*, 5: 8 (September 1967, pp. 81–90.
85 Flood 1987: 61. 1974 issues included articles on the CIA in Thailand, US cultural imperialism through the American Field Service and the Peace Corps, and US domination of the Thai economy and military (Flood 1975: 62).
86 The bookshop held a wide range of publications. Among the more than 45,000 volumes burnt were works on nonviolent struggle, the Thai labour movement, Allende, Quakerism, German literature, and texts by Marx, Lenin, Thomas Moore and Mao.
87 Interview with Somsak Jeamteerasakul, 14 April 1988.
88 Saunders 2000: 346.
89 *Bromocorah: Dua Belas Cerita Pendek*, Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1983 and translated into English by Jeanette Lingard as *The Outlaw and Other Stories*, Oxford University Press, Singapore 1987.
90 For details of the Award, see http://www.rightlivelihood.org/sulak.html, sighted 23 July 2007.
91 Quoted from the title page, January 1969 edition. On its link with the CCF, see Anderson and Mendiones 1985: 26 fn 24. On CCF funding in 1966 and IACF link, see Coleman 1989: 276, Berghahn 2001: 300, and 'The Rebirth of Solidarity', *Asiaweek*, 7 September 1984, pp. 60–61.
92 Mochtar and Sulak are first listed as Editorial Advisers in the March–April 1967 edition of *Solidarity*, while the revived 1983 magazine lists Mochtar Lubis as Chairman of the Board, Ivan Kats and Sulak Sivaraksa on a board of six, and F. Sionil Jose as Editor and Publisher (Vol. 4, 1983).
93 *Indonesia: Land under the Rainbow*, Solidaridad Publishing House, Manila, 1987. Quotation from p. 10. This is Mochtar's English version of his Dutch book, *Het Land Onder de Regenboog: de geschiedenis van Indonesie*, A.W. Sijthoff, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1979.
94 He is best known for his *Rosales Saga* quintet that spans three centuries of Philippine history, *The Pretenders* (1962), *My Brother, My Executioner* (1973), *The Tree* (1978), *Mass* (1983) and *Po-on* (1984), some of which have been translated into 22 languages. For background details on Jose, see http://www.engr.uvic.ca/~art/afsj.html, and http://biography.jrank.org/pages/4741/Sionil-Jose-F-rancisco.html, both sighted 27 July 2007.
95 American support for President Ramon Magsaysay (notably via the CIA's General Lansdale) was 'never much of a secret in Manila, [and] came to be regarded in Washington as a classic cold war success story' (Robert Pringle (1980) *Indonesia and the Philippines: American Interests in Island Southeast Asia*, Columbia University Press, New York, p. 43).
96 The legal judgement was published verbatim as 'Scurrilous Imputations', *Solidarity*, Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1971, pp. 69–75.
97 F. Sionil Jose (1969) 'The Christian as Revolutionary', *Solidarity*, February, pp. 1–2, 64–66. Quotations from pp. 1 & 64.
98 *Solidarity* has been sponsoring seminars and publishing articles on Land Reform since the July–August 1967 edition.
99 *Solidarity*, December 1969, Vol. IV, No. 12, pp. 57–65. The document was published without interpolation, unedited and in its entirety.
100 All three, for example, attended a lavish Asian Writers Conference in Manila in December 1981, sponsored by the local PEN club of which Jose was the secretary and for which Mochtar Lubis was the keynote speaker ('The Pen and the Sword', *Asiaweek*, 22 January 1982, pp. 39–40).
101 Numerous other Asian intellectuals and writers shared these connections with PEN and the CCF. Japanese author Takeyama Michio, for example, who helped found and edit the CCF-funded journal *Jiyu* [*Freedom*], travelled abroad extensively under PEN

and CCF auspices. In 1965, the year the CCF published Mochtar's *Twilight in Jakarta*, the CCF's Ivan Kats also considered publishing the English translation Takeyama's novel, *Harp of Burma* (1948). See Richard H. Minear (ed & trans) *The Scars of War: Tokyo during World War II: Writings of Takeyama Michio*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2007, pp. 6–22.

102 Sulak has published at least fifteen books in English (see http://www.sulak-sivaraksa.org/en/index.php?option=com_booklibrary&task=showCategory&catid=71&Itemid=82, sighted 22 July 2007). Jose writes his literary works in English.

103 When Sulak was detained briefly in 1984 on a charge of *lese-majeste* international protest included a letter from a score of Jakarta intellectuals (see *Tempo*, 25 August 1984, p. 24). On the 'dozens of organizations and hundreds of people [who] sent petitions to the king as well as to the people in the government' during the two months after Sulak's arrest, see Watanabe Ben (1984), 'Possible Life-Imprisonment for a Man Devoted to Freedom, Democracy and People', *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, XVI, No. 3, p. 50–52. Jose has never been detained.

104 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 254 & 269. Teeuw 1967: 198 mentions the preprint manuscript title *Hutan*. All following page references are from *Harimau! Harimau!*, Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta, 2nd edn, 1977.

105 Two members of the Foundation for Fine Books [*Yayasan Buku Utama*] jury, which awarded *Harimau! Harimau!* the 1975 prize for best novel for adolescents, mentioned the allusion to Sukarno and Indonesian political life [discussions with H.B. Jassin (9 January 1981) and Hazil Tanzil (22 January 1981)]. See also Soedjijono 1985: 70–71.

106 Five years after *Harimau! Harimau!* was published (and 17 after it was commenced) Mochtar had used the Sumatran jungle setting for the adolescents' tale, *Berkelana dalam Rimba* (1980), designed to awaken young people's environmental awareness.

107 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11 March 1981.

108 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 24 April 1981.

109 Teeuw 1967: 198.

110 Teeuw 1979: 167-8.

111 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 269, 14 December 1963.

112 Satyagraha Hoerip (1978) 'Novel *Harimau! Harimau* Mochtar Lubis', *Budaya Jaya*, Vol. XI, No. 119, April, pp. 239–47. Quotation from p. 247.

113 The prize was from the *Yayasan Buku Utama*. 'Hadiah Satu Juta Rupiah untuk Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 4 May 1976, p. 3.

114 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11 March 1981. While the Department was preparing to circulate *Harimau! Harimau!* to schools, the writer of a letter to *Kompas* claimed to have been told by departmental officials that some of Mochtar's children's stories (for primary school students) had been rejected for 'security' reasons, because of Mochtar's possible implication in the January 1974 incident (see Soekico J.G., 'Penilaian Kontradiktif', *Kompas*, 12 July 1976). Syarif Thayeb subsequently issued a *pro forma* denial of the claim ('Buku-buku Mochtar Lubis Tak Dilarang', *Sinar Harapan*, 12 July 1976).

115 Both the Pustaka Jaya June 1975 first edition and the December 1977 second edition were of 5,000, indicating steady sales (correspondence from publisher Sugiarta Sriwibawa, 14 October 1981).

116 *Maut Dan Cinta* [Death and Love], Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta, 1977 (all page references are to this edition). The foreword states that the book was begun in Madiun jail, 'not long before the Gestapu-PKI coup broke out', however, Mochtar's *Catatan Subversif* diary (1980) would imply composition began slightly later. *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 395–96.

117 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 441, dated 24 February 1966.

118 Chambert-Loir 1974: 246 notes the similarity between this original title and Ernest Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (the American title of the novel published in England

as *Fiesta*). The following discussion of *Maut dan Cinta* is based on David T. Hill (1987b) 'Mochtar Lubis: The Artist as Cultural Broker in New Order Indonesia', *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* (RIMA), Vol. 21, No. 1, Winter, pp. 54–88.

119 One of these pilots, an American citizen David F. Fowler, mentioned by name in the dedication, was involved with Mochtar Lubis in establishing PT Safari Air, which was incorporated in PT Airfast Services Indonesia. The exploits of pilots such as Americans Fowler and Bob Freeberg and Australian Ralph Cobley provided background to the novel.

120 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11 March 1981. Valuable histories of these events include Kustiniyati Mochtar (ed.) (1992) *Memoar Pejuang Republik Indonesia Seputar 'Zaman Singapura' 1945–1950*, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta and Yong Mun Cheong (2003) *The Indonesian Revolution and the Singapore Connection 1945–1949*, Singapore University Press, Singapore, which concludes with a commentary on *Maut dan Cinta* (pp. 195–96).

121 B. Rahmanto (1977) '[Review of] *Maut dan Cinta*', *Basis* (Yogyakarta) August.

122 Linus Suryadi AG. (1977) '[Review of] *Maut dan Cinta*', *Gelora Mahasiswa* (Yogyakarta), November, No. 7.

123 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11 March 1981.

124 Pamusuk Eneste (1977) '[Review of] *Maut dan Cinta*', *Berita Idayu/Bibliografi*, No. 11/12, p. 16.

125 Teeuw 1979: 168.

126 The first edition of 5,000 in April 1977 was followed in October 1978 by an equal second printing, with a third in 1982 (correspondence with Sugiarta Sriwibawa, PT Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 14 October 1981).

127 'Hadiah Sastra untuk Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 17 December 1979, p. 1. The Foundation was established by the Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, on 10 October 1971. The incumbent Governor heads the Advisory Council and the majority of the foundation's members are Jakarta municipal officials, such as the head of the BAPEDA (Regional Development Board). Despite initial plans to award biennial prizes, Mochtar Lubis remains the only recipient. Though not officially disbanded, the foundation is dormant (correspondence with the H.B. Jassin Literary Documentation Centre, 26 May 1986).

128 'Hadiah Sastra untuk Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 17 December 1979, p. 1.

129 On the promotion of the military's role in the Revolution through the medium of feature films, see Krishna Sen (1994) *Indonesian Cinema: Framing the New Order*, Zed Books, London, pp. 79–104.

7 The editor after *Indonesia Raya*

1 A collection of his media interviews was published as Ramadhan K.H. (1995) (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis Bicara Lurus: Menjawab Pertanyaan Wartawan*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.

2 The manuscript *Nirbaya: sebuah buku harian dalam tempat tahanan* [Nirbaya: a diary in detention], was published in Dutch as *Kampdagboek* [Camp Diary] (translated by Cees van Dijk and Rob Nieuwenhuys) A.W. Sijthoff, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1979, and in Indonesian as *Nirbaya: Catatan Harian Mochtar Lubis dalam Penjara Orde Baru*, LSPP & Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta, 2008.

3 Arman Lubis recalls his father's anger when one foreign businessman asked Mochtar to withdraw from their deal, because his participation disadvantaged the company (Interview, 1 August 2006).

4 *Pers Indonesia*, October 1980, p. 69.

5 Quotation and details on Fortune Indonesia from 'In Memoriam Mochtar Lubis, Membangun Fortune di Indonesia', www.cakram.co.id/cgi-bin/index.cgi?p=038&id=26, downloaded from Google cache, 13 May 2006.
6 Rosemary Righter (1978) *Whose News? Politics, the Press and the Third World*, Burnett Books & Andre Deutsch, London, p. 167 quoting the request from UNESCO's 19th General Conference in Nairobi.
7 The others were Adam Malik (Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by Willy Brandt), Soedjatmoko (Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, chaired by Olof Palme) and Emil Salim (Independent Commission on the UN Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Gro Harlem-Brundtland).
8 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 8 March 1982. The report was published as UNESCO (1980) *Many Voices One World* (Report by the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems), UNESCO, Paris (see pp. xv & xviii–xix).
9 Mochtar Lubis, 'Problems of control and communication', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 22 January 1982, p. 22.
10 Curtis Prendergast (1980) 'The Global First Amendment War', *Time*, 6 October, pp. 58–59. Mochtar is quoted on p. 59.
11 'Mochtar Lubis Terpilih Menjadi Dirjen PFA', *Kompas*, 7 November 1981, p. VII.
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13 Quoted in http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/Biography/BiographyPFA.htm, sighted 16 August 2007.
14 http://www.rmaf.org.ph/Awardees/category-PIU.htm, sighted 20 November 2006.
15 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 8 March 1982. *The WorldPaper* took different formats during its appearance, ending up as electronic publication (www.worldpaper.com); by 2005 it had closed.
16 'Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 7 March 1982, p. 1.
17 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 12 January 1982.
18 On LBH, see Phillip J. Eldridge (1995) *Non-government organizations and democratic participation in Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur & New York; & (2002) *The politics of human rights in Southeast Asia*, Routledge, London.
19 Daniel S. Lev (1987) *Legal Aid in Indonesia*, Monash Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Clayton, p. 1.
20 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981.
21 Marianne Katoppo (1980) 'Mochtar Lubis mengenai Hukuman Mati', *Kompas*, 18 January 1980, p. 1; & 'Hukuman Mati tak perlu karena sistem peradilan & keadaan belum mengijinkan', *Sinar Harapan*, 15 February 1980, p. 1.
22 The group's unwieldy formal name was the Foundation of the Institute for the Development of Understanding and Constitutional Awareness According to the 1945 Constitution (*Yayasan Lembaga Pengembangan Pengertian dan Kesadaran Berkonstitusi Menurut Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*).
23 That Mochtar and A.H. Nasution achieved some measure of reconciliation was demonstrated by the former Army chief's contribution to a *festschrift* honouring Mochtar's 70th birthday, *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad,* in which he provides his account of the journalist's arrest in 1956 and their joint participation in the LKB.
24 David Bourchier (1987) 'The "Petition of 50": who and what are they', *Inside Indonesia*, No. 10, April, pp. 7–10.
25 Information on the LKB from discussions with the General Chairperson, Dr Azis Saleh and the General Secretary Alex Jusuf Malik on 6 September 1982, and various LKB publications. Also David Jenkins (1984) *Suharto and His Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1975–1983*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, pp. 102–8 & 237.

26 Rendra (1979) *The Struggle of the Naga Tribe* (translated and introduced by Max Lane), University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, contains the translated statement (pp. 96–98).
27 Quoted in 'Saya Protes Keras', p. 173 in Ramadhan K.H. (1995) (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis Bicara Lurus: Menjawab Pertanyaan Wartawan*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.
28 Edward Aspinall (2005) *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, p. 72.
29 Quoted in 'Saya Protes Keras', p. 175 in Ramadhan K.H. (1995) (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis Bicara Lurus: Menjawab Pertanyaan Wartawan*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.
30 A transcript of Mochtar's evidence is given in 'SIUPP Hanya Ada di Negara Totaliter', pp. 259–63 in Ramadhan K.H. (1995) (ed.) *Mochtar Lubis Bicara Lurus: Menjawab Pertanyaan Wartawan*, Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Jakarta.
31 Transcripts appear in Ramadhan 1995: 264–89.
32 The case is analysed in Takeshi Kohno (2003), 'Emergence of Human Rights Activities in Authoritarian Indonesia: The Rise of Civil Society', unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, pp. 155–59, http://www.ohiolink.edu/etd/send-pdf.cgi?osu1054313444, sighted 25 May 2007; and Aspinall 2005: 103–12.
33 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 11 March 1981.
34 Mochtar Lubis (1980) *Manusia Indonesia (Sebuah Pertanggungjawaban)*, Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta (4th edn to which all subsequent page references refer. 1st edn 1977), based on a lecture at TIM; *Bangsa Indonesia: Masa lampau, masa kini, masa depan* [The Indonesian Nation: its past, its present, its future], Yayasan Idayu, Jakarta, 1978, based on lecture at the Gedung Kebangkitan Nasional on 30 January 1978; and *Transformasi Budaya untuk Masa Depan* [Cultural Transformation for the Future], Inti Idayu Press, Jakarta, 1985, based on another TIM lecture on 18 October 1983. *Manusia Indonesia* was also published as 'Situasi dan Kondisi Manusia Indonesia Kini', *Budaya Jaya*, August 1977, while *Transformasi Budaya* also appeared in *Horison* December 1983 and in Budhy Munawar Rachman and F.X. Baskara Tulus Wardaya (eds) (1986) *Indonesia dan Masalah-Masalah Pembangunan*, Kelompok Studi Proklamasi STF Driyarkara, Jakarta.
35 *Bangsa Indonesia* 1978: 50.
36 Julie Southwood and Patrick Flanagan (1983) *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror*, Zed Press, London, controversially describe 'critical collaborators' as 'those who directly or indirectly function to maintain the system of domination *because they have no choice* … [One] of necessity collaborates *in whatever one is unable to change* no matter how critical or radical one's standpoint (p. 4, all emphases in original).
37 Interview with Arman Lubis, Jakarta, 1 August 2006.
38 Both volumes were originally written in English but published first in Dutch by A.W. Sijthoff, Alphen aan den Rijn. The historical work was published by F. Sionil Jose's Solidaridad publishing company in the Philippines, using Mochtar's English translation, in the Solidarity Translation Series 'Southeast Asia Through Southeast Asian Eyes' in 1987, before an Oxford University Press edition in 1990 (although stripped of the rich illustrations).
39 *Indonesia: Land under the Rainbow*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1991, p. viii.
40 Interview with Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo, 4 March 1981.
41 Ben Abel, 'Beholding a Landmark of Guilt: Pramoedya in the Early 1960s and the Current Regime', *Indonesia*, Vol. 64, October 1997, pp. 21–28.
42 Letter from Mochtar Lubis to Ms Nona B. Javier, dated 20 July 1995, held in the offices of Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Viewed with permission 26 January 2007.
43 Letter from Mochtar Lubis to Ms Nona B. Javier, dated 8 August 1995, in the offices of Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Viewed with permission 26 January 2007.
44 http://www.asiaweek.com/asiaweek/95/0915/letters.html, sighted 30 January 2007.
45 'Penjara Mochtar Lubis', Detik, 4–10 May 1994.

46 Interview with Iwan Lubis, 16 July 2006.
47 Interview with Arman Lubis, 1 August 2006.
48 Conversations with Atmakusumah Astraatmaja, Jakarta, January 1995 and 9 August 2006.
49 Letters from Ivan Kats to Mrs Madelon Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, dated 6 July 1993, and Mochtar Lubis to Iwan Kats, dated 20 July 1993, held in Obor's Jakarta office. Viewed with permission 26 January 2007.
50 Letter from Ivan Kats to Kartini, dated 6 August 2006, held in Obor's Jakarta office. Viewed with permission 26 January 2007.
51 Letter from Ivan Kats to Kartini, dated '10-I-06', held in the Obor office. Viewed with permission 26 January 2007.
52 Letter from Mochtar Lubis to IPI Director Johan P. Fritz, dated 24 November 1999, read at Obor Jakarta office, with permission 26 January 2007.
53 Conversation with Atmakusumah Astraatmaja, Jakarta 6 August 2006. He recalled the overture came about 2000.
54 Information on Mochtar's declining health and final years are drawn largely from interviews with Mochtar's sons, Indrawan ('Iwan') Lubis, 16 July 2006 and Arman Lubis, 1 August 2006.
55 Agriceli, 'Mochtar Lubis Meninggal Dunia', *Tempointeraktif*, 2 July 2004, http://ww.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nasional/2004/07/02/brk,20040702–48,id.html, sighted 4 May 2006.
56 Their graves are located in Block AAII, section 39–12.
57 Citation dated 4 August 2004, provided by Indrawan Lubis on 16 July 2006.

8 Conclusion

1 Confidential interview, Jakarta, 22 January 1981.
2 Confidential interview with two leftist editors, Jakarta, 5 August 1981.
3 *Catatan Subversif* 1980: 84.
4 Angela Romano (2003) *Politics and the Press in Indonesia: Understanding an evolving political culture*, RoutledgeCurzon, London, p. 63.
5 Romano 2003: 63.
6 Confidential Interview, Jakarta, 29 January 1981.
7 Confidential interviews, Jakarta, 1 June 1982 and 28 August 1982.
8 Confidential interview, Jakarta, 10 July 1981.
9 Confidential interview, Jakarta, 26 July 1982.
10 Interview with Arief Budiman, Jakarta 23 August 1981.
11 'Komentar-komentar tentang Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 7 March 1982, p. 12.
12 'Komentar-komentar tentang Mochtar Lubis', *Kompas*, 7 March 1982, p. 12, reprinted as 'Dia sendiri berkepala granit' (pp. 115–16) in Atmakusumah 1992.
13 Interview with H.J.C. Princen, Jakarta, 1 September 1982.
14 Confidential interview, Jakarta, 24 February 1981.
15 Interview with R.S. Bratanata, 15 January 1981.
16 H. Boediardjo (1992) 'Ia Seorang *Lone Ranger*' (pp. 167–76) in Atmakusumah (ed.) 1992.
17 Rosihan Anwar 1983: 17 & 156.
18 His pen names included Abu Luthfi, Al Bahist, Mualiq, and Muwahid. He tended to write for Islamic-oriented publications. Apart from irregular journalistic work, Rosihan was employed by PT Indomarine, a shipping dry dock company and contractor bureau owned by Daan Jahja (Rosihan Anwar 1981: 440 & 442).
19 Abdurrachman Surjomihardjo (ed.) 1980: 250.
20 Rosihan Anwar 1983: 251–54.
21 Interview with Rosihan Anwar, 22 June 1981.

22 Tempo 1981: 51.
23 Rosihan Anwar (1977) *Profil Wartawan Indonesia*, Deppen, Jakarta, p. 200.
24 Confidential interview with leader of a major Islamic organisation, Jakarta, 26 July 1982.
25 Interview with Rosihan Anwar, 22 June 1981.
26 Confidential interview with editor of a major media enterprise, Jakarta, 29 January 1981.
27 Ibrahim Isa (2005) '"Ayik" Umar Said & *Perjalanan Hidupnya*', at http://www.mail-archive.com/bhinneka@yahoogroups.com/msg00094.html, sighted 10 November 2006. Umar Said's biography is provided on his homepage http://kontak.club.fr/cv%20singkat.htm, sighted 10 November 2006. His autobiography is *Perjalanan Hidup Saya* Yayasan Pancur Siwah Jakarta, 2004.
28 Two major incidents will serve as examples. In August 1963, Diah replaced *Merdeka* editor Joesoef Isak with former *Indonesia Raya* journalist Hiswara Darmaputra, because, during Diah's absence abroad, Joesoef had aligned *Merdeka* with the pro-Manipol, pro-PKI press. [Groves 1983: 85–94 cf. the Diah-endorsed history of *Merdeka*, J.R. Chaniago, Kasijanto, Erwiza Erman & M. Hisyam (1987) *Ditugaskan Sejarah: Perjuangan Merdeka 1945–1985*, Pustaka Merdeka, Jakarta, pp. 72–77.] More dramatic was Diah's backing for the anticommunist Body for the Support of Sukarnoism in 1964. [Groves 1983: 94–105; Chaniago et al. 1987: 82–85; and Tribuana Said and Moeljanto 1983.]
29 Translated from *Nirbaya* 2008: 12. This comment does not appear in the published Dutch translation, *Kampdagboek* 1979.
30 A *peranakan* Chinese born in Bukittinggi in 1920, Petrus Kanisius Ojong was originally named Awjong Peng Koen (Soebagijo 1981: 559–65).
31 Soebagijo 1981: 563 refers to the 22 December 1972 editorial.
32 Jakob Oetama (1987) *Perspektif Pers Indonesia* (edited by Frans M. Parera and Y. Priyo Utomo, with introduction by Ignas Kleden), LP3ES, Jakarta, p. 133.
33 Hill 1994: 83–86.
34 Translated from *Nirbaya* 2008: 15–16; see also *Kampdagboek* 1979: 39–40.
35 Malcolm Caldwell and Ernst Utrecht (1979) *Indonesia: An Alternative History*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative, Sydney, p. 118. 'The Failings of Sukarno', an extract from Sumitro's *Searchlight on Indonesia* in December 1959, appears in Feith and Castles (eds) 1970: 141–46.
36 *Nirbaya* 2008: 27–29, and *Kampdagboek* 1979: 50.
37 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 27 April 1981.
38 On the LBH, see Lev 1987; Phillip J. Eldridge (1995) *Non-government organizations and democratic participation in Indonesia*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur & New York; and LBH publications such as *Langkah Telah Diayunkan: Sepuluh Tahun Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* (1981) LBH, Jakarta.
39 *Nirbaya* 2008: 46 (original in English), and *Kampdagboek* 1979: 65.
40 Teeuw 1979: 165.
41 'Memperingati dan Menghormati Sdr. Takdir Alisjahbana pada usia 70 tahun', in Mochtar Lubis (ed.) (1979) *Pelangi: 70 Tahun, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana*, Akademi Jakarta, Jakarta, pp. xi–xx, also published in *Horison*, March 1978, XIII, No.3, pp. 74–78. Quotation from p. xix.
42 So claims Budi Darma in Dewan Kesenian Jakarta (2006) *Kebijakan & Kontroversi*, DKJ 2003–5, Jakarta, p. 197.
43 Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1960) *Hoa Kiau di Indonesia*, Bintang Press, Jakarta.
44 The banned works included four linked novels, *Bumi Manusia* (1980), *Anak Semua Bangsa* (1980), *Jejak Langkah* (1985) and *Rumah Kaca* (1988), and a volume Pramoedya edited of works by an early Indonesian writer R.M. Tirto Adhi Soerjo entitled *Sang Pemula* (1985), all published by Hasta Mitra, Jakarta.

45 The quartet beginning with *This Earth of Mankind* was translated into English by Max Lane, and published by Penguin, Harmondsworth, from 1982 onwards. The novels have been translated into at least eight world languages: Dutch, Chinese, French, German, Russian, Spanish, Japanese and Swedish.
46 W.S. Rendra (1981) *The Mastadon and the Condors* (translated by Harry Aveling), Writers Workshop, Calcutta.
47 Rendra (1980) *State of Emergency* (translated by Swami Anand Haridas [Harry Aveling]), Wild & Woolley, Sydney.
48 'Anak buah' refers to the younger subordinate who gives respect and loyalty to his/her 'bapak' ('father', superior) in return for guidance, and protection.
49 Jamie Mackie (1989) 'Review' in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, February, pp. 233–35 (quotation from p. 234).
50 Mochtar Lubis (1967) 'Mysticism in Indonesian Politics', *Solidarity* (Manila), II, No. 10, Nov–Dec., pp. 22–27 (quotation p. 25).
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Postscript

1 G. Thomas Couser (2004) *Vulnerable Subjects: Ethics and Life Writing* Cornell UP, Ithaca, p. 25.
2 An earlier version of this chapter appeared as David T. Hill, 'The Objectification of Mochtar Lubis: Personalizing the Process of Biography', in Angus McIntyre (ed.) *Indonesian Political Biography: In Search of Cross-Cultural Understanding*, Monash University Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Clayton, 1993, pp. 263–89.
3 Clifford Geertz (1988) *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Polity Press, Cambridge, p. 130.
4 Alan Shelston (1977) *Biography*, Methuen & Co, London, p. 47.
5 Robert Gittings (1978) *The Nature of Biography*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, p. 85.
6 Shelston 1977: 73.
7 Barbara Tedlock, 'From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 47 (1) (1991), pp. 69–94. Quotation from p. 79.
8 E.g. Robert Cribb (1991) *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945–1949*, Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, p. 4.
9 Yohanni Johns [1969] *Melawat ke Negara Tetangga: Visit to a Neighbouring Country*, Ian Novak, Sydney, p. 8 (my translation).
10 Edels is cited in James Walter (1984) 'The Biography of a Contemporary Figure and its Pitfalls' in James Walter and Raija Nugent (eds) (1984) *Biographers at Work*, Institute for Modern Biography, Griffith University, pp. 59–62 particularly p. 62.
11 Interview with Mochtar Lubis, 17 March 1982.
12 Walter, 1984:60. Walter's 1980 biography of Gough Whitlam, *The Leader: A Political Biography of Gough Whitlam* (University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia) was written without any contact or cooperation from the former Australian Prime Minister, and in his preface he argues of the advantages of this method when writing about a contemporary public figure.
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14 Ferrarotti 1981: 20.

15 This short story, originally published in *Siasat Baru*, XIII, No. 650, 25 November 1959, pp. 28–30, was republished as the title story in Mochtar Lubis, *Kuli Kontrak* [Contract Coolies], (Sinar Harapan, Jakarta, 1982), while the autobiographical article is Mochtar Lubis, 'Of Things Remembered from the Past', *Quadrant*, October, 1969, pp. 11–23.
16 A translation of 'The Lotteries of Haji Zakaria' appeared in L. Wigmore (ed.) *Span*, F.W.Cheshire, Victoria, 1958, pp. 51–6.
17 Several of these IPHHOS photographs were included later in Atmakusumah (ed.) (1992) *Mochtar Lubis: Wartawan Jihad*, Penerbit Harian Kompas, Jakarta, pp. 54–57, a volume commissioned by a committee of journalist colleagues including Jakob Oetama (*Kompas*), Sabam Siagian (*The Jakarta Post*) and Dja'far Husin Assegaff (Lembaga Pers Dr. Soetomo), to commemorate Mochtar Lubis's 70th birthday (7 March 1992).
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20 E.g. Soebagijo I.N. (1981) *Jagat Wartawan Indonesia*, Gunung Agung, Jakarta, and (1987) *Adinegoro: Pelopor Jurnalistik Indonesia*, CV Haji Masagung, Jakarta.
21 David T. Hill (1992) 'Revolusi dan Kepemimpinan: Gambaran yang Berubah dalam Tiga Novel Mochtar Lubis' (pp. 298–332) in Atmakusumah (ed.) 1992.
22 Walter 1984: 62.

Glossary

adat	tradition, custom
AJ	*Akademi Jakarta*, Jakarta Academy
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Aspri	*Asisten pribadi*, personal assistant to the President
BMKN	*Badan Musyawarat Kebudayaan Nasional*, National Cultural Council
BPS	*Badan Pendukung Sukarnoisme*, Body for the Support of Sukarnoism
Bulog	National Logistics Board
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
controleur	European district official
cukong	Chinese business partner of government official
demang	district chief
DKJ	*Dewan Kesenian Jakarta*, Jakarta Arts Council
DPR	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, People's Representative Council
dukun	practitioner of traditional medicine and mystic arts
GOLKAR	*Golongan Karya*, the government political organisation of Functional Groups
Gemsos	*Gerakan Mahasiswa Sosialis*, Socialist Students' Movement
G30S	*Gerakan 30 September*, The Thirtieth of September Movement
Golput	*Golongan Putih*, White Group
GPI	*Gerakan Pembaharuan Indonesia*, Movement for the Renewal of Indonesia
HIS	*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*, Dutch-Indigenes School.
IACF	International Association for Cultural Freedom
INS	*Indonesische Nationale School*, Indonesian National School
IPI	International Press Institute
KAMI	*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Indonesia*, Indonesian University Students' Action Front
KAPPI	*Kesatuan Aksi Pelajar Pemuda Indonesia*, Indonesian Student and Youth Action Front

KASI	*Kesatuan Aksi Sarjana Indonesia*, Indonesian Graduates' Action Front kebatinan mystical spirituality
KNIP	*Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat*, Central Indonesian National Committee
Kopkamtib	*Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban*, Operations Command for the Restoration of Security and Order
LBH	*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum*, Legal Aid Institute
LEKRA	*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*, Institute of People's Culture
LKB	*Yayasan Lembaga Pengembangan Pengertian dan Kesadaran Berkonstitusi Menurut Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*, Institute for Constitutional Awareness
LPKJ	*Lembaga Pendidikan Kesenian Jakarta*, Jakarta Art Academy
MPR	*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, People's Consultative Council
NU	*Nahdlatul Ulama*, Muslim Scholars' Party
Opsus	*Operasi Khusus*, Special Operations
Pancasila	Five principles of the Indonesian state ideology
pejuang	Independence fighter
pemuda	young person, youth
PEN	Poets, playwrights, essayists and novelists' international organisation
Peperda	*Penguasa Perang Daerah*, local military authorities
peranakan	Chinese (or other non-indigenes) born in Indonesia
PETA	*Pembela Tanah Air*, Defenders of the Homeland
PKI	*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, Indonesian Communist Party
PNI	*Partai Nasional Indonesia*, Indonesian National Party
pojok	Brief 'corner' column in newspaper
pribumi	Indigenous Indonesian
PRRI	*Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia*, Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia
PSI	*Partai Sosialis Indonesia*, Indonesian Socialist Party
PWI	*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia*, Indonesian Journalists' Association
rakyat	people, the populace, the masses
RTM	*Rumah Tahanan Militer*, Military Detention Centre
satria	knight, noble warrior
Sekolah Ekonomi	Economic High School
Sekolah Rakyat	village People's School
SESKOAD	*Sekolah Staf Komando Angkatan Darat*, Army Staff and Command College
SIC	*Surat Izin Cetak*, Printing permit
SIT	*Surat Izin Terbit*, Publishing permit

tapol	*tahanan politik*, political prisoner
TBN (PT)	*Tambahan Berita Negara* (*Perseroan-Perseroan Terbatas*), Company Registration Supplement to the Government Gazette
TIM	*Taman Ismail Marzuki*, the Jakarta Cultural Centre
warung	small shop, roadside stall
YLBHI	*Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia*, Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation

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B) Selected publications by Mochtar Lubis

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JOURNALISM AND POLITICS IN INDONESIA

Mochtar Lubis was one of Indonesia's best-known newspaper editors, authors and cultural figures, with a national, regional and international prominence that he retained from the early 1950s until his death in 2004. This book traces the major events in the life of Mochtar Lubis, a prism through which much of Indonesia's postindependence history can be interpreted.

This book is also the story of Indonesia in the second half of the twentieth century, when the people of the archipelago became an independent nation, and when print media and the influential figures who controlled and produced newspapers played a pivotal role in national political, educational and cultural life, defining Indonesia. Editors with strong personalities dominated the industry and sparred with the nation's leadership. Lubis was a vocal critic of the abuse of power and a thorn in the side of the country's first two presidents, becoming synonymous with combative journalism. Under both Sukarno and Suharto, Lubis had his newspaper closed down and was imprisoned.

As the only comprehensive biography of this towering figure, the book provides a unique insight into the history and development of media, literature and the political system in Indonesia.

David T. Hill is Professor of Southeast Asian Studies and Fellow of the Asia Research Centre on Social, Political and Economic Change at Murdoch University, Western Australia. His publications include *The Press in New Order Indonesia*, and (coauthored with Krishna Sen) *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy* (published by Routledge) and *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia.*

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